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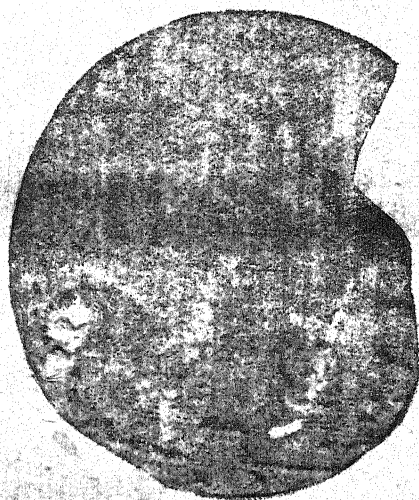
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[PART I

Leading Articles

REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY, 1939-40

By THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE SAIYID FAZL ALI

It is my privilege to welcome your Excellency tonight on behalf of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society as its President. As the Governor of this Province and as Chancellor of the Patna University you have under your protection and care many institutions founded for the purpose of disseminating knowledge and promoting research. Of these the Bihar and Orissa Research Society is by no means the least. The Society was founded just a quarter of a century ago and today by common consent it occupies an honoured position in the domain of Indology here and abroad. In his exhaustive survey of Historical Research in Bihar and Orissa at the annual meeting of the Society at Government House,

Patna, on the 15th March, 1923, Sir Ashutosh Mookerji who was then Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University summed up the Society's contribution to the preservation and study of Hindu and Moslem learning and culture in these words:—"In a critical study of successive volumes of your Journal I come across contributions of the highest value to the advance of our knowledge in almost every department of Ancient Indian History, in chronology, epigraphy, numismatics, architecture, sculpture, philology, sociology and jurisprudence." The same appreciation was expressed by Professor Sylvain Lévi of Paris and was repeated last year by the Director-General of Archaeology in India. An actual demonstration of the service rendered by the Society is available in the pages of some of the most authoritative Journals and standard Text-books of the day utilising the materials discussed in the Society's Journal. The materials collected by the Society, from time to time, have stimulated interest in the original objects—terra-cottas, statues in stone and metal, coins, paintings, and MSS.—and incidentally expedited the building of the Museum where the Society and its library are also housed. Mr. Manuk, the President of the Managing Committee of the Patna Museum, whose initiative and sustained efforts are, to a large extent, responsible for securing for the Province a fine Museum building and an excellent collection of old relics referred to the intimate connection between the two institutions and their mutual debt at the formal opening of the building by His Excellency the Governor.

The Society has also published a number of

important texts. Under old Sanskrit texts, *Pāri-jātaḥaraṇanāṭaka*, *Bhagavadajjukam* and Bhaṭṭa-svāmin's Commentary were edited by Sir George Grierson and Drs. Jayaswal and Banerji-Sastri. An English version of the *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh* of Maharaja Kalyan Singh who negotiated the grant of the Dewani as agent of the East India Company was prepared and published by Nawab Sarfaraz Hussain Khan. Last year the Society completed a task which it had begun in 1917. Dr. Buchanan at the instance of the Board of Directors of the East India Company had carried on an extensive survey of the Bengal Presidency from 1809 to 1813. His MSS. were lying at the India Office. Montgomery Martin published an abridgement of them in his *Eastern India* but it was only an abridgement of this valuable work and in some other ways also not quite satisfactory. With the permission of the Secretary of State for India in Council, the Society undertook to edit and publish the original MSS. The work has been completed in eight volumes, the different volumes having been edited by Messrs. Jackson, Oldham, James and Banerji-Sastri.

The Society has been publishing a *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in Mithila* under the editorship of Drs. Jayaswal and Banerji-Sastri. After the death of the former, Volumes III and IV have been edited by Dr. Banerji-Sastri. This series is published from the funds generously placed at the disposal of the Society for the purpose by the late Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga.

The Society has already taken steps to publish some of the important Sanskrit MSS. brought from

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Tibet. Some texts have been published in the Journal. Dr. Johnston, the Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford is engaged in preparing the text of *Uttaratantra* to be published in the Journal in due course.

In the systematic search for Sanskrit MSS. in Bihar and Orissa and in Tibet, as also in the publication of results, the Society is grateful for aid from the Local Government, from the Maharaja Bahadur of Hathwa and from Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan who printed one of Buchanan's Reports at his Press free of cost.

The late Maharaja of Mayurbhanj made a grant of Rs. 10,000/- towards improving the Library in 1926. Such help is more than ever needed if the Society's literary and Library activities are to be maintained on a scale befitting Bihar.

These activities are expanding from year to year as will appear from the Journal which is the record of the work of the Society. Much useful work was done during 1939. The Journal appeared regularly. All the numbers were published in time and the quality of the papers accepted for publication has been favourably noticed here and in Europe. Among the contributors of the year, special mention may be made of Mr. Walsh, an ex-Vice-President and at present an Honorary Member and Dr. Johnston, Boden Professor at Oxford. Mr. Walsh has been studying the Punch-marked coins of Bihar while Dr. Johnston is interesting himself in the Sanskrit MSS. recovered from Tibet. Dr. Johnston has also undertaken to prepare for the Journal the text of

Uttaratantra.

It is encouraging to note the interest taken by the younger generation of Civilians in the history of the country and specially of the Province. Mr. Krishnan has described the remains at Asurgardh in Darbhanga in the March Issue while Mr. Sohoni has secured an interesting inscribed terra cotta plaque of the Pāla period (11th century A.D.) which is being edited for the next issue of the Journal by Dr. Banerji-Sastri. This is in keeping with His Honour Sir Edward Gait's closing advice in his annual Presidential address in 1916 where he said:—"I would specially urge junior officers of my own service to take an active part in ethnographic research. No civilian can be a really successful officer unless he understands the habits and mentality of the people of his district, and nothing will tend to such an understanding more than sustained enquiries regarding their language, manners, customs, rites and superstitions." A passing reference is due to the Rev. Rahula Sāṅkṛityāyana who did fruitful work in searching for Sanskrit MSS. in Tibet. One of these MSS. appears in the Journal for 1939. He has, to our regret, since deserted literature for politics.

The stimulus and training imparted through the Society's Journal are bearing fruit in the researches of the younger generation of scholars studying the ancient, mediaeval and modern periods of Indian History, on which important contributions have been made by Messrs. Askari, Datta, Banerji and Sarkar. The success of the Journal is associated with the name of the late Dr. Jayaswal who occupied a unique po-

sition in the Society. His untimely death in 1937 was a loss which is still fresh in our minds.

The Society has suffered another irreparable loss in the retirement of Sir Francis James. Sir Francis is an eminent scholar. As Vice-President for over ten years he did a great deal of useful work for the Society. He has left a gap which it will be extremely hard to fill, and I think it would be well if we took this opportunity to elect him an Honorary Member in recognition of all that he has done to promote the welfare of the Society.

I think that this brief review of the year's work will not be complete without my acknowledging the valuable service rendered by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri both as an editor of the Society's Journal and a member of the Council. Dr. Banerji-Sastri is a scholar of high reputation and the Society is greatly benefited by his expert advice which it often needs and by the admirable manner in which he is editing its Journal. I must also take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Shyam Bahadur for taking up the combined duties of Secretary and Treasurer and discharging them so efficiently during the greater part of the year.

MAHARAJA KALYAN SINGH, ASHIQ

"The Last¹ native Governor of Bihar"

BY SYED HASAN ASKARI

Those interested in the history of the later Mughals and of Bengal and Bihar in the 18th century, are not entirely unacquainted with Maharaja Kalyan Singh, the author of *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, and the last Naib Nazim and Ray-i-Rayan of Bihar. But very few appear to have felt attracted towards, or known much about, the life and career of the son and successor of Maharaja Shitab Rai who played such an important part in strengthening the British hold on Northern India, and was, more than anybody else, responsible for the grant of the Diwani to the East India Company. It is seldom realised that Maharaja Kalyan Singh was a constant companion of his great father, and probably, as he claims, a channel of communication between the King and the Company; and as a poet of no mean order and author of several² works, both in prose

¹ Buchanan's 'Patna and Gaya' Report, p. 59.

² That he was an accomplished scholar and author of a work in Persian Prose—*Hilyat-ul-Fatimin*—which greatly impressed the historian, Fakir Khairuddin, while he was only 27 years old, in 1192/1777, is known from an interesting interview and discussion that took place between the two, and is described in *Tuhfa-i-Taza* Folios 88-90. We are also told by Ibrati that M. Kalyan Singh who assumed the pen-name of Ashiq, left behind him 20(?) Diwans (collections of poems), a *Masnawi*, entitled *Zeba*, 10,000 verses in praise of the Prophet, Ali and their descendants, and a versified version of the well-known history

and poetry, he carved for himself a place among the contemporary men of letters. A product of that mixed culture, which had been evolved by the efforts of Sikandar Lodi³ and Sher Shah, and Akbar and Todar Mal, M. Kalyan Singh presents the example of one who was above sectarian and religious prejudices and was fully imbued with the ideal of Hindu-Muslim⁴ unity.

It is unfortunate that the well-known contemporary historians are generally silent about, or make a mere passing reference to, M. Kalyan Singh, and even the references in the valuable and comprehensive work of Nawab Ghulam Husain, the well-known Patna historian, are much too brief, indeed. It is from the several volumes, so far published, of the Calendar of Persian Correspondence, from Patna District Gazetteer, from the Bengal Records analysed by Sir W. W. Hunter, also from concise but useful description of the Administration of Bihar, during the years 1781-85, found in the book of J. Reginald

Habib-us-Seyar. He was also a good poet of Urdu and has left a Masnavi.

³ It was Sikandar who is said to have first employed the Kayasthas in government service as a result of which they began to learn the Persian language on a scale not known before. Todar Mal made the knowledge of Persian compulsory for government service.

⁴ Kalyan Singh, and his father, were so very eclectic and saturated with the mixed culture that they were suspected by the author of the Seyar to have been at heart Muslims and Shiah. But the present writer has got in his possession two Persian Qasidas of Kalyan Singh, one of which begins with the line "I am an infidel and a born Hindu and I am never a Musalman." While the other says "What have I to do with the comparatively new faith of Muhammad? It is the old religion which I and my forefathers have always adhered to." The two Qasidas form very interesting reading.

Hand, that we get some interesting and valuable information about the political and administrative career of Kalyan Singh. Something can be gleaned about his literary activities from a few biographical notices of Persian poets⁵. Sufficient materials, however, which may enable us to reconstruct his life and career with any degree of certainty are available in the pages of his own works. Of these *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* is a veritable mine of information about the author and his father, but it has to be very carefully studied, and especially all that the author says about himself and his achievements have to be critically examined in order to ascertain the truth. The present writer has been fortunate to discover a few literary productions, mostly his poetical effusions, both in Persian and Urdu, which are in possession of a direct descendant⁶ of Kalyan Singh's only uncle, Rai Mahtab Rai, who served as a treasurer of his elder brother, Shitab

⁵ *Miraj-ul-Kheyal* by Ibrati; *Tazkira-i-Shoara-i-Honud* by Debi Prashad; *Tazkira-i-Shoarai Bihar* by Balkhi; *Majmua-i-Naghz* by Syed Qudratullah Qasim; *Tazkira-i-Khubchand Zoka*; *Tazkira-i-Shorish* by Ghulam Husain.

⁶ Mr. Rameshvarnath, B.A., B.L. and his grandfather Babu Bhagvati Prashad of Diwan Mohalla, Patna City, were kind enough to place at the disposal of the present writer the following works of Kalyan Singh:—

- i. A rare Urdu Masnavi
- ii. *Tarikh-i-Zeba*.
- iii. *Majmua-i-Qasids* (2 volumes) Praises of the 14 Holy Personages of the Shiah.
- iv. Two copies of *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*.
- v. Miscellaneous poems in Persian, including the two *Qasidas* repudiating the charge that the Maharaja was a Musalman.
- vi. A *Firman* granted by Emperor Shah Alam II, conferring upon Kalyan Singh and his descendants Jagirs in Parganah Biswak.

Rai, the Naib Nazim and Diwan of Bihar, 1765-1773. Even a cursory glance over these poetical works, enables us to form an idea of the literary merit possessed by this author and also to throw some incidental but valuable light on the social and religious life of the man and his times. It is from this source that we get definite information about the age of Kalyan Singh and the approximate date of his birth which helps us to check some of his interesting but erroneous observations.

Kalyan Singh came of a respectable family of Saxena Kayasthas of Delhi. The family appears to have furnished a fairly long line of capable public servants, who had "generation after generation eaten the salt of the sovereigns of Babar's line." An idea of the social position of the family can be had from the fact that Kalyan Singh's great-grandfather, named Rai Tarachand⁷, was the Diwan and administrator of all affairs "of Nawab Asad Khan, the Wazir and Wakil-i-Mutlaq respectively of Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah, and of his son, Amir-ul-umra Zulfiqar Khan, from the very beginning of their rise to the end of their fortunes." Rai (later Rajah) Himmat Singh,⁸ the grandfather of Kalyan Singh was the trusted and faithful Diwan of Nawab Samsam-ud-Dowla Khan-i-Dauran, the dominator of Delhi Politics, during the years, 1732-1739. After the death of Khan-i Dauran at the battle of Karnal in 1739, Raja Himmat Singh stood valiantly and faithfully by his eldest surviving son, named

⁷ K. T. p. 68.

⁸ K. T. 130.

Mirza Ashuri (Samsam-ud-Dowla II), and the clever and tactful way whereby he managed to save the life, honour and property of his young master, on the occasion of the first sack of Delhi, extorted the admiration of even such a terrible man as Nadir Shah, the Persian invader. A long kasida (poem) of 51 couplets⁹ eulogizing the virtues of Samsam-ud-Dowla I, which was composed by Kalyan Singh and incorporated in his history, is a proof positive of the attachment of the family to the once all-powerful and premier noble of Emperor Muhammad Shah. As for the father of Kalyan Singh, the pages of all contemporary histories and the records of the E. I. Co. bear ample testimony to the position of an almost all-India figure occupied by Maharaja Shitab Rai in the Sixties and Seventies of the 18th century. In view of these antecedents we cannot but admit that unlike most of the great adventurers of the 18th century, Kalyan Singh was not an obscure pretender to social position but was, as he rightly says, "among the best-born natives of India."¹⁰

Like most men of the age, however, there is much concerning his birth, education and early life, that we know very little about with any degree of certainty. Family tradition says that for a long time the wife of Shitab Rai bore him no issue. One Chanda Bai, who was a constant companion of the latter, adopted a boy of good extraction, named Rao Khushal Singh. The adoption proved auspicious, for the wife of M. Shitab Rai soon after gave birth to the future Maharaja

⁹ K. T. 120-23.

¹⁰ K. T. 12.

Kalyan Singh, and still later on, to another son, named Kunwar Bhawani Singh. Chanda Bai, not to be left behind, presented a son of her own, named Basant Rai. Inscrutable are the ways of Providence; Rao Khushal¹¹ Singh's line is still extant—albeit through adoption—and Rai Basant Rai is even today directly represented by one who gets a pension of Rs. 50 from the Government, but all traces of Shitab Rai through his real sons and successors have become extinct. Attempts at perpetuating one's line and fortunes are bound to prove vain and futile in this perishable world, and therefore, mortals like Shitab Rai and Kalyan Singh derived no benefit from constantly harping on¹², and aspiring after, "perpetual annuities" and grants of jagirs and allowances "generation after generation."

We learn from Mir Wazir Ali, Ibrati, that Kalyan Singh was born at Shahjahanbad (Delhi), and that he died at Calcutta at the age of 73 years¹³ in 1237-1822. This gives 1164 as the approximate year of his birth, and it is practically corroborated by certain verses, found both in the body of the book, and also at the end of a Persian Masnavi of 8000 couplets, which was dictated, as we learn from the Colophon, by the blind Maharaja Kalyan Singh, in the year 1131-1815, for the sake of his second son (by a Muslim woman), named Kunwar Hashmat Singh, alias Raja Dholan. This MS. which is the original and the only copy available anywhere, was written at Chitpur, Calcutta,

¹¹ Noticed in a paper published in J. B. O. R. S., June 1938.

¹² Instances are numerous in the pages of K. T.

¹³ Miraj-ul-Kheyal. The copy utilized by the present writer gives 1207 which is absurd.

in 1231. In it the author speaks more than once of his having reached the age of 66 years. We also notice that the very name of the Masnavi, *Tarikh-i-Zeba*, constitutes, as the author also has indicated, a chronogram, yielding the year 1231. Thus there is no doubt that Kalyan Singh was born somewhere about the year 1164-65.

He must have been a mere child when his father, according to his own¹⁴ statement, was made Naib of Samsam-ud-dowla II, the new Mir-i-Atish (Head of the Imperial Artillery) by the notorious Vazir, Ghaziuddin, Imad-ul-mulk, in about 1167. A few years later, just after the death¹⁵ of Siraj-ud-dowla, in 1171-1757, when Shitab Rai was sent to Bihar and Bengal to manage the affairs of the Diwani-i-Khalsa, he had to leave his young son with Imad-ul-Mulk. Kalyan Singh appears to have stayed with that dictator of Delhi politics (1754-59), at least for two years more, after which the rapid revolution in Delhi and the consequent insecurity of life and property soon compelled the family of Shitab Rai to migrate towards the east and take shelter in the dominion of Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowla of Oudh and Allahabad.

Kalyan Singh says nothing about his training and education but goes directly to make preposterous claims about the commencement of his political career. According to his own statement he left Delhi and entered the domain of the Nawab Vazir of Oudh, two and a half years before the arrival of his father in the camp of the Oudh Nawab, which happened, according to a contemporary authority, Karam Ali,¹⁶

¹⁴ K. T. 166.¹⁵ K. T. 171.¹⁶ M. N. 76.

in 1177/1763. There is nothing improbable about this date of the migration of the whole family (1174-75), but it is impossible to accept that the youthful Kalyan Singh (only 9 or 10 years old) was appointed¹⁷ as a Risaladar of 2000 horse and foot, and on a salary of Rs. 4000, when we find him writing, elsewhere, about an experienced and talented man like his own father getting¹⁸ into the service of the same master and being put into the command of 2000 horse and foot, two and a half years after. Indeed, as the writer of these lines has shown elsewhere,¹⁹ we have to revise much of our opinion about the accuracy of many of Kalyan Singh's statements, especially those concerning himself, that we find in his historical work, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*.

We are compelled to attach no importance to his claims that he "took much pain"²⁰ and made many efforts, along with his father, to procure the Sanad of Subadari for Mir Jafar and of Diwani for the E.I.Co. "from the Court of Alamgir II, the then Emperor of India", and that he played no inconsiderable part in promoting the interest of the English and their protege, the titular Nawab of Bengal and Bihar. He speaks of his having acted as the emissary²¹ of his father, first to Maharaja Beni Bahadur, then to Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowla, and ultimately to the King, Shah Alam, and also to have conveyed the patents, Farmans,

¹⁷ K. T. 347.

¹⁸ K. T. 330.

¹⁹ A paper entitled 'A critical study of Kalyan Singh, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*.'

²⁰ K. T. 589.

²¹ K. T. 337, 339, 345, 352.

Sanads, Khilats etc., from the King and the Vazir to Nawab Mir Jafar and the English, at a time when the latter was encamped on the bank of river Karamnasa, which formed the frontier of Bihar. Of course the wealth of details given by him is not such as can be generally expected from one who was not an eye-witness to, or had not at least the first hand information about, the recorded events. There is also nothing improbable in that a sick²² and an indulgent father, anxious to initiate his son into the mysteries of diplomatic dealings, entrusted the task into the hands of the intelligent Kalyan Singh, but we cannot credit the latter with having done everything that he speaks about by himself and without the help and guidance of someone by his side, who was equally reliable, but was of much more mature age and wisdom. The very fact that he is nowhere in the picture so far as the extant relevant records are concerned, and that Rai Sadhu²³ Ram, his father's trusted Diwan, is frequently met with in connection with such negotiations, and in the matter of the despatch of the Sanads and the Fermans to the English and the Bengal Nawab, help us to get the true perspective.

Maharaja Beni Bahadur and Raja Balvand Singh of Benares did show themselves²⁴ much more friendly

²² K. T. 336, 343.

²³ There are numerous references to Sadhu Ram in C. P. C. Vol. I.

²⁴ K. T. 364. That Beni Bahadur was not unjustly punished by his master is borne out by other evidences of his treachery. Both Fakir Khair-uddin and Subhan Ali, authors of *Tuhfa-i-Taza* and *Tarikh-i-Benares* respectively, speak of the perfidy and disloyalty of Beni Bahadur and Balwand Singh. T. B. 95; T. T. 47a. Kheyali Ram's letter in C. P. C. I (2459) leaves no

to the English and their dupe, the Bengal Nawab, than to their master, the Nawab-Vazir, and there is no doubt that they "did not put heart into the battle of Buxar" which helped the defeat of Shuja-ud-Dowla. But considering the disparity in age and experience between these two redoubtable personages and the youthful Kalyan Singh, it is difficult to accept the latter's claim that it was he who turned them into the friends of the English. In short, while accepting with certain reservations the general accuracy of Kalyan Singh's version of the whole transaction before the battle of Buxar, we cannot but leave out the personal factors in so far as the enumeration of his own achievements is concerned.

He was, however, sufficiently shrewd not to fail to realise the inward feeling of friendship for the English which his father undoubtedly possessed and was always ready to demonstrate. He might, therefore, have taken advantage of his presence in the camp of the Nawab Vazir and the King, during the former's stay at Phulwari, and on the occasion of the battle of Pachapahari (Patna) to convey his compliments, through Sadhu Ram, to the English General, and even to have a secret interview with General Carnac. "Having told them (the English)²⁵ what had to be said and enquired after everything worth knowing, I returned immediately afterwards to my camp." He also tells us that after the battle of Buxar the Nawab Vazir fled across the river Ganges²⁶ leaving him

doubt about the treasonable attitude of Balwand Singh.

²⁵ K. T. 374.

²⁶ K. T. 401.

and Beni Bahadur to persuade the titular emperor, Shah Alam, to follow his Vazir and join his forces. On the other hand, he acted as a channel of communication between the King and Major Munro, conveying the former's suggestions²⁷ to the latter. He was sent with Nawab Munirud-Dowla to receive the Major and present him to the King. He met his father, who had been sent to Calcutta to negotiate for peace on almost impossible terms, on the latter's arrival at Benares²⁸ with the English army, led by Carnac. He was also present along with his father in the second battle²⁹ which the Nawab Vazir fought against the English and lost at Korah.

We need not consider the well-deserved rewards, in cash and jagirs, which Raja Shitab Rai received³⁰ at the hands of the King, the Nawab Vazir, and the English. As for Kalyan Singh, he was invested with a robe of honour³¹, as an assistant of his father, while the latter was in Oudh. He was introduced to Clive³² when the latter came to Allahabad to ratify the treaty with Shuja-ud-Dowla and secure the Diwani for the Company from the King and was given a grand feast by Shitab Rai. On his way back to Calcutta, Clive left Kalyan Singh at Azimabad (Patna) to look after the affairs of the Diwan Khalsa and the King's

²⁷ K. T. 402. We hear of such a royal Shuqqa being sent through Suchit Ram by Nawab Munirud-Dowla C. P. C. I., 2473.

²⁸ K. T. 410.

²⁹ Ibid, 418-19.

³⁰ Ibid, 415, 437-38, 442, 444.

³¹ Ibid, 415.

³² Ibid, 432-34.

estates in Bihar while his father was taken by him to Calcutta. It was in the Fasli year 1173/1765³³ A.D. that he received his father who had been sent to Patna to act with Raja Dhiraj Narain, brother of Raja Ram Narain, as the Joint Naib Nazim³⁴ of Bihar. After some time in 1174 Fasli/1766, Dhiraj Narain was displaced³⁵ from power and Maharaja Shitab Rai became sole Naib Nazim of Bihar—an office which he held with a brief interruption till his death in 1181 Fasli/1773. During this period Kalyan Singh acted as the Deputy³⁶ of his father. M. Shitab Rai had left him in charge of the province when he had gone to Calcutta in 1180 A.H./1767 A.D. to meet the new Governor, Verelst.³⁷ He assisted his father in organizing relief work when a great famine broke out at the end of the year 1183 A.H./1769.³⁸ But the greatest service which he undoubtedly rendered to his father was when the latter was taken away to Calcutta early in 1186 A.H./1772 to answer the charge³⁹ of corruption and misappropriation of Government money.

³³ Ibid, 440-41.

³⁴ Ibid, 51. The pomp and grandeur displayed on this occasion when M. Shitab Rai and his son marched in procession, accompanied by Mr. Middleton, the Chief of Patna, from the "big gate of his Haveli" near the Diwan Khana (Diwan Mahalla) to the fort of Patna, in which the Chutchery of the Nizamat was held, reminded Kalyan Singh of what he had seen at the accession to power of Vazir Imad-ul-Mulk.

³⁵ That Dhirajnarain had to thank himself for the loss of his power is shown not only by Kalyan Singh (457-58, 463-64) but also by all other authorities. (S.M., M.N., T.M.).

³⁶ K. T. 469

³⁷ K. T. 468, 602, 603.

³⁸ Ibid, 470.

³⁹ Ibid, 473, 482-84.

Here we must take note of the fact that a change in the system of administration had been effected⁴⁰ by the appointment, at Patna, in 1770, of a Revenue Council which consisted of James Alexander as President with Robert Palk and George Vansittart (called by Kalyan Singh as Nawab Hoshyar Jung) as members. This Council was given authority over the Naib Diwan in revenue matters, though M. Shitab Rai was still in charge of the Nizamat administration. It was in 1772 that the Directors of the E. I. Co. resolved to "stand forth as the Diwan." Nawab Muzaffar Jung had been already removed from his office of Naib Nazim of Bengal and this was followed by the order for the removal of Shitab Rai also from the Diwani of Bihar.

We are told by Kalyan Singh that his father found the charges levelled against him to be groundless. He requested that the charge⁴¹ sheet drawn against him might be sent to the Council at Azimabad (Patna) so that local enquiry could be conducted in the presence of his eldest son, Kalyan Singh, and that whatever be the results and findings of the enquiry and investigation from the Amils and Malguzars of the province, the same should be sent for and then he should be called upon to make his submissions thereon, so that the final decision might be expedited. The request was accepted and acted upon. On the request of Kalyan Singh⁴² the enquiry was post-

⁴⁰ Patna Gazetteer.

⁴¹ K. T. 489-90.

⁴² Ibid, 491.

poned till all the agents⁴³ and rent-payers had been sent for, both from the town and the Moffussil and then, as suggested, the formal proceeding was drawn up by the Secretary of the Council, Mr. Brett (?). Muhammad Ashraff Khan Kashmiry, the Amil of the Sarkar of Champaran, Syed Ghulam⁴⁴ Husain Khan (the author of *Seyar-ul-Mutakharin*), the agent of the Sarkar of Seres Kutumba and many others were examined, but all testified to the innocence of the Maharaja, his son putting questions and cross examining them all the time. A detailed account was sent to the Court and the Maharaja was honourably acquitted and reinstated as Naib Nazim and Naib Diwan of Bihar.

Unfortunately M. Shitab Rai had already fallen severely ill and when in Jamadi I, 1187 A.H./1773 Warren Hastings arrived at Patna and wanted to take Shitab Rai to Benares, the latter expressed his inability to do so. He, however, took advantage of the courtesy call of the Governor to present to him his son⁴⁵, Kalyan Singh, and request him to look upon him as his successor in all his offices and jagir, etc. and extend the same favours to him which had been

⁴³ Ibid, 492. One of these was the Raja of Bettiah who proved of invaluable help to Kalyan Singh in showing the innocence of his father. For this service one of the several houses possessed by Raja Shitab Rai, and now known as Bettiah House, was made over to him.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 495-96. There is a vein of resentment running in Kalyan Singh's sentences against the author of *Seyar* who, if he (K.S.) is to be believed, was guilty of base ingratitude to his father (473) and who, when cornered by Kalyan Singh, and warned by Hushyar Jung, (G. Vansittart), had to give out the truth.

⁴⁵ K. T. 504-5.

shown to him in recognition of his services. The Governor reassured him and said that he would treat his son as his own⁴⁶ and would always take care of, and help him. When the Governor returned from Benares in September, 1773, he found the Maharaja to have died and, therefore, went to Kalyan Singh to condole with him. Next day he sent for him to Baqipur (Bankipur) and appointed him to the offices left vacant⁴⁷ by the death of his father. The title of Mumtaz-ud-Dowla Imtaza-mul-Mulk Maharaja Kalyan Singh Bahadur Tahawwar Jung and the robes of honour, swords, elephants, etc., were granted and formally confirmed on him by Sanads procured from the Court of Murshidabad in October,⁴⁸ 1773. It was not till December, 1773 that the formal Sanad of the Diwani of the Subah of Bihar was granted to him. But the Governor before his departure for Calcutta in September saw that the Maharaja was taken with due pomp and grandeur from Baqipur to his house in Patna City⁴⁹ through the western gate and then formally installed on the Masnad of Nizamat in the Diwani-khana.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 505-6.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 515-19.

⁴⁸ C. P. C.

⁴⁹ The original residential house of Shitab Rai is now represented by a heap of earth and bushes at what is known as Bhawani Khalifa Ka Akhara, a little further east from the Dargah of Shah Arzan. Another was perhaps the modern Bettiah House at whose ghat Shitab Rai was cremated. The Shish-Mahal, which stood a little south of modern Dulighat, is now non-existent. The Diwan Khana was a big building, situated on the bank of the river, just west of what is now known as Seerhi Ghat. Buchanan found two or three houses of M. Kalyan Singh "which for caprice of enormous wealth were (then) empty." Patna and Gaya Journal, 59.

Ghulam Husain, the Patna historian, does not appear to have been favourably impressed with young Kalyan Singh who, he says, was appointed to the offices, allowances, jagirs etc., of his father by the Governor because the latter was anxious that nobody should suspect his malice⁵⁰ towards the deceased. According to him, both on account of his age (he was only 21 or 22 years old at the time) and character, Kalyan Singh was unfit to hold such a responsible post and, therefore, owing to his negligence and unworthiness he soon lost all power and influence at the Council.⁵¹ On the other hand, Kalyan Singh himself⁵² says that "from the beginning of his appointment in 1181 Fasli (1187/1773) till the middle of 1188 Fasli (1194/1781) he regularly attended the Council on the days fixed for it, and carried on all the work, both civil and political, conscientiously and economically, and to the best of his power and abilities. In the evening he always held his Darbar in the Diwani-Khana and discussed affairs with people and with the Amils (agents) and Malguzars (rent-payers). He endeavoured to administer well, practised economy, never took a shell beyond what had been allotted to him, kept the English pleased with his work, tried to promote the interests of everyone, high or low, wounded the feelings of none to satisfy his own whims, was never guilty of embezzlement, and effected an increase in the Government money without ruining anyone on the charge of default."

⁵⁰ S. M. 791.

⁵¹ Ibid, 809-10.

⁵² K. T. 521-22.

That M. Kalyan Singh was anxious to carry out the Governor's order for conducting the business placed under his charge after the manner of his deceased father, is shown by his long letter,⁵³ dated 1st November, 1773, in which he describes the nature of the duties performed by M. Shitab Rai. As in the time of the latter, "Sadhu Ram⁵⁴ and Kheyali Ram were to act as Naibs in the execution of his office," we find Kalyan Singh reporting with deep concern on November 12, 1773, the failure of crops in the province, in 1171 Fasli, and asking Mr. Lane "to hold local investigation in order to encourage the Ryots⁵⁵ to cultivate the spring crops and to fix the rents according to the produce" believing that "by this method the country might prosper and the revenues might increase in the next year." That he had a soft corner in his heart for those suddenly afflicted and stricken with poverty is shown by his earnest recommendation for the restoration of the resumed jagir of the deceased Nawab Munir-ud-Dowla⁵⁶ as "that was the only source of maintenance for his sons." There are numerous letters in the Calendars of Persian correspondence which show that by a judicious despatch of presents and Nazars and congratulatory letters and regular communication of news and messages from the King

⁵³ C. P. C. IV.

⁵⁴ Records of Bihar analysed by Principal Mitra.

⁵⁵ C. P. C. IV.

⁵⁶ Ibid. At times he also quarrelled with such nobles when his own interests were involved. For example he refused in April 1778, to vacate the house of Nawab Saif Khan when a son-in-law of his grand-daughter and a grandson of Nawab Sarbuland Khan, a former Governor of Patna, claimed it (C. P. C. V.).

and other notable personages in the Court and elsewhere, he kept the Governor pleased and well-informed. We find him carrying out the Governor's orders regarding various affairs of the province. For example in a letter⁵⁷, dated September 3, 1774, he assures the Governor that he would 'render' every possible assistance to Captain Brooke in punishing robbers and murderers. He sometimes gave advice to the Governor, as in the matter of establishing friendly relations⁵⁸ with Indian rulers. In short, Kalyan Singh began well and though, after some-time, he, probably, fell a victim to the temptation of his young age and became negligent of his public duties, as a result of which he lost all power and influence in the Council, and was looked upon, as Ghulam Husain says, as a cypher in the Board, yet there is nothing on record to show that he was ever guilty of bribery or corruption. We must also remember that he was not a man of few wants and much affluence.

It appears from his letters to the Governor⁵⁹ dated September 11 and 30, 1774, that till then he received a monthly stipend of Rs. 5,000 which had been fixed by the Governor while he was at Patna, but the Board demanded in that year a refund of Rs. 10,000 a year as the annual 60,000 was not exclusive of the allowances for the Naibs and Munshi. M. Shitab Rai, too, had got Rs. 5000 a year, but he also enjoyed

⁵⁷ C. P. C. IV.

⁵⁸ Ibid. He recommended in February, 1775, the case of Raja Guman Singh of Bundelkand.

⁵⁹ C. P. C. IV.

the proceeds of his extensive jagirs in Bihar,⁶⁰ Jaunpur, Allahabad, Delhi, etc. But all the jagirs lying in the dominion of the Nawab Vazir and even those of Delhi had been confiscated by the latter, and in spite of the repeated requests of Kalyan Singh, backed as he very often was by the Governor, these were not restored. We can only refer to the numerous correspondence on the subject—covering the year 1773-1784. A letter which M. Kalyan Singh wrote to the Governor on June 27, 1774⁶¹ gives us an idea of his difficulties. "Is reduced to great distress on account of his heavy expenses.....his father left behind a large number of dependents. It has now become impossible for him to support them without the restitution of his jagirs.....His ungrateful servants are always at work trying to create differences between him and the gentlemen of the Council."

The last sentence gives us a clue to the uneasy relation that developed between Kalyan Singh and his colleagues and subordinates, which was destined to prove so ruinous to his fortunes and political career. It seems that his love of ease and luxury was taken advantage of by his Naibs, especially by the astute Raja Kheyali Ram, who was ever ready to turn to his own account the favours⁶² of the English. Kalyan Singh appears to have been losing the favour and the confidence of the Governor, for, we find the latter turn-

⁶⁰ Mention has been made in K. T. of these jagirs, and the letters in the Calendar, which are too numerous to be mentioned, bear out the claim.

⁶¹ C. P. C. IV.

⁶² K. T.

S. M.

ing down, at least for the time being, the request of the former (made on May, 1775) that he should be allowed, as before, to be the medium of correspondence⁶³ between the King and the Governor-General. Shortly after M. Kalyan Singh appears to have lost the control of the departments of Foujdari⁶⁴ and Kotwali in Bihar and we don't know if the fresh Sanad of appointment, applied for in April 1778, was actually granted to him or not. In a letter dated April 24, 1777, Kalyan Singh requests that his past⁶⁵ faults might be overlooked and that he might be taken into favour again. This shows that he had probably received a reprimand. As late as⁶⁶ May 8, 1781, we find Lala Majlis Rai, the agent of M. Kalyan Singh at Calcutta, writing to the Governor-General as follows:—"The Maharaja has now given up all his vain pursuits and is applying himself most assiduously to the management of the business entrusted to him and is making all possible endeavours to remove the idea of his negligence and carelessness from the mind of the Governor-General. The truth of his statement may well be verified from Mr. (Henry) Ramus and other gentlemen who have lately returned to Calcutta from Bihar."

The business referred to above was the settlement⁶⁷, in 1185, (1780-81) of the whole Subah of Bihar with Maharaja Kalyan Singh 'for 34 lakhs and odd thousand rupees, due to the interested efforts of Raja Kheyali Ram' who was appointed his Naib and "had

⁶³ C. P. C. IV.

⁶⁴ C. P. C. V, 878, 17-4-1778.

⁶⁵ C. P. C. V 524.

⁶⁶ C. P. C. VI.

⁶⁷ Hand, 77; K. T. 554; C. P. C. VI, 134.

a sub-lease of Seres, Kutumba, Chainpur, Sasaram etc." This led to abolition, in February 1781, of the Provincial Council at Patna, which had been constituted in 1774. Mr. William Maxwell remained as the Revenue Chief at Patna and resided at Bhiknapahari. Maharaja Kalyan Singh writes very⁶⁸ bitterly against Raja Kheyali Ram "who requited the good done to him with the troubles he caused by procuring the 'Mokarri grant' in the name of the writer and partly in his own name and that of Ganga Gobind," on the strength of the Maharaja's letter which he secured by holding out false hopes. He accuses him of having assumed airs, defied his authority, told tales to Mr. Maxwell, refused all reasonable suggestions for meeting the dues of the Government, failed to pay his share of the money and compelled the Maharaja not only to discharge his own liability but also that of Ganga Gobind in the matter of the payment of the very first Kist. On the other hand, the author⁶⁹ of the Seyar who considered Kheyali Ram to be unscrupulous and a liar credits him for being true to his master's son. He blames the latter for having failed to appreciate the services of Kheyali Ram and refused to collaborate with him and thus destroyed all chance of the people and the province deriving benefit from the new arrangement.

Whoever may have been more at fault, both were destined to suffer greatly from this transaction.

⁶⁸ K. T. 540-65. Kalyan Singh's letter to the Governor, dated 8-5-1781, throws further light on the subject. C. P. C. VI—134.

⁶⁹ S. M. 810.

In fact one may shrewdly suspect that it was a device to chuck out unwelcome sharers of power and revenue. Raja Kheyali Ram was confined⁷⁰, first in his own house, then in the Killa, and finally in Haveli Begaman, in the Patna City, (1781) for "heavy and fraudulent arrears of revenue, and gross mismanagement of his estates." Even the request of the King,⁷¹ made in July, 1783, for his release, was turned down by the Governor who pointed out "Kheyali Ram's ingratitude and mischief" and "balances due to Government." As for M. Kalyan Singh, though he had already paid off the major portion of his amount and only 20,543 was left⁷² on 1st June, 1781, yet he was "called on to discharge his debts forthwith or coercive measures would be adopted for forcing payment." The Maharaja was already alarmed at, and was determined to avoid the fate of, Kheyali Ram and Sadhu Ram, and, therefore, though hampered by difficulties due to the defaults of other renters and zamindars⁷³ to whom he had to sublet the Mahals and owing to rather unfriendly attitude of the English Revenue⁷⁴ Chiefs at Patna who wanted in vain to lord it over the Maharaja and, therefore, sent exaggerated reports drawing

⁷⁰ Hand, 5, 20, 21; K. T. 575.

⁷¹ C. P. C. VI.

⁷² Hand, 17.

⁷³ Hand, 31.

⁷⁴ Mr. Brooke reported on 5-9-1782 "The Maharaja is determined that this business (Mitrajit's) shall not be settled by me; as he has on several occasions treated me with disrespect I hope you will reprimand him for the impropriety of his conduct; the disobedience of the Maharaja to your orders is unexampled; it is needless for me to point out his desserts; he looks upon himself as an independent Chief.....". Hand, 42.

down upon the latter the admonitions⁷⁵ of the Governor, M. Kalyan Singh did succeed in sending through his banker to the Board of Revenue, the remaining Kistis till the end of the year 1781. The Governor wrote to him on March 9, 1782 that he "very much appreciated⁷⁶ the efficient management of this department by the addressee."

Mr. Hand relying upon the contemporary records, and especially the interested despatches of Revenue Chiefs, like Rose, Brooke and others has tried to condemn M. Kalyan Singh and has described him as a 'despotic'⁷⁷ feudal Baron-in-Chief, who treated the Revenue Chief with contempt, refused to obey his orders or to pay his revenue to him, claimed as an independent chief to be directly under the Governor General, and "exercised arbitrary powers on his subordinate renters, confining them and confiscating their estates at his sweet pleasure." He has instanced the cases of Madho Singh, the Rajah of Tirhut and Mitrajit Singh, the Rajah of Tikari who were confined by the Maharaja and had Sazawals placed in charge of their estates. O'Mally⁷⁸ has gone so far as to state that owing to his tyrannical treatment of the Zamindars, some of them took the side of the rebellious Raja Chait Singh of Benares, in 1781. That the Raja of Tirhut was not a paragon of virtues is shown by complaints that he not only failed to pay his rent but "fraudulently⁷⁹ secured Sanads for Mahals" already

⁷⁵ C. P. C. VI, 262, 268.

⁷⁶ Ibid, VI 398.

⁷⁷ Hand, 5.

⁷⁸ History of Bengal and Bihar under the British.

⁷⁹ C. P. C. V—1871.

granted to others. It is rather significant that Hand has avoided "discussing the merits⁸⁰ of the case" of Kalyan Singh and his brother Bhowani Singh against the Raja of Tirhut enhancing the Dastoor allowed to his house since the time of Alivardi from Rs. 22,000 to Rs. 60,000 and making exorbitant demands on the jagirs of Nawab Muzaffar Jung, Kalyan Singh and others. As regards Mitrajit Singh, there is enough evidence to show that the poor Maharaja had to suffer very greatly on account not only of the heavy arrears (1,63,000 and 1,40,000 for 1188-89) of the Raja of Tikari, but for want of necessary orders for "effecting either a sale⁸¹ or mortgage of the Nankar (assignment of lands for subsistence) lands of the said Raja, as the latter himself desired it. We must also remember that neither of these respectable zamindars of Bihar was among the rebels, and the Rajah of Bhojpur who, too, had to suffer the loss of his estate (not because of Kalyan Singh) was among the "faithful allies" of the Government.⁸² On the other hand, lawless⁸³ and disloyal zamindars of Bihar such as Fateh Sahi (ancestor of Modern Hathwa Raj), Raja Narain Singh of Seres Kutumba, Petamber and Buniad Singh of Tikari and Raza Quli Khan of Sasaram who gave the greatest trouble on the occasion of Chait Singh's rebellion, had little or nothing to complain against Kalyan Singh himself. Raja Narain Singh, described as "an arch traitor", had fallen

⁸⁰ Hand, 41.

⁸¹ C. P. C. VI, 437, 583, 584.

⁸² Hand, 16.

⁸³ Ibid, 8, 10-14.

in arrears of revenue and consequently sent up to Patna and confined and had been ousted from the zamindari, two and a half years⁸⁴ before, by the order of the Provincial Council wherein the Maharaja had lost all influence at the time. Mr. Hand appears to have unconsciously overdrawn the picture so far as the personal responsibility of M. Kalyan Singh for all the ills of the time is concerned.

If the revenue chiefs had had their way, and had not "the political state of the country" suggested otherwise, "coercive measures" might have been adopted even against "Kalyan Singh, the most⁸⁵ powerful zamindar in Bihar", and the titular "Ray-in-Rayan and Naib Nazim of the Subah", in 1781. It was fortunate that the Governor⁸⁶, while on his way to Benares, dropped at Patna and was interviewed by M. Kalyan Singh at Bhicknapahari. The Governor left Mr. Anderson to check the accounts of the revenue and the latter found the Maharaja to have practically cleared his accounts. At the suggestion of Mr. Anderson the Maharaja paid off the arrear amount of 72,760 due from Mangli Lal who had taken the farm of 9 mahals of Azimabad for Rs.2,10,605. These Mahals, as the Maharaja complains later on, were taken possession of by Mr. Brooke⁸⁷ in violation of the arrangement made by Mr. Anderson and without the money paid being refunded. Indeed, the

⁸⁴ Ibid, 12.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 17.

⁸⁶ K. T. 555-565.

⁸⁷ This fact is corroborated by the letter of Mangali Ram to the Governor, dated 22-5-1783. C. P. C. VI, 757.

Maharaja rightly says in a letter to the Governor⁸⁸ (1-6-1781) that "he had lost all his money, jewels, and property in the business of the Mahals" and "his Jagirs had been taken away from him on account of arrears." Very little consideration was shown to the submissions and suggestions of the Maharaja. Such was the great distrust felt by the Revenue Chief that his offer of service against Chait Singh was suspected to be a design "to avail himself⁸⁹ of the troubles to get rid of his obligations to Government by letting loose a rabble and plundering the country and charging it to the disaffected Chait Singh." But the "Raja's rabble"⁹⁰ did assist the mofussil troops against the rebel chiefs and in guarding the frontier. He also looked after the Governor's wife who had been left at Patna (Chajju Bagh).

M. Kalyan Singh has given, at the end of his book, brief accounts of 124 Europeans whom he knew or had friendship with. Of these he says about Messrs Robert Bathurst and Duncan that they were the cause of much of his miseries and owing to the scant justice Mr. Duncan did to his accounts, he had to sell hastily⁹¹ all the gold mohurs, rupees, plates, etc., at very low prices to meet 'his invented arrears so that his honour might be saved.' Mr. Duncan expressed regret afterwards but it was of no use. Mr.

⁸⁸ C. P. C. VI, 762. Kunwar Daulat Singh wrote to the Governor on 1-1-1783 about the "hardships" of his father "who had been reduced to such penury that he was unable to provide the writer with the bare necessities of life". C. P. C. VI.

⁸⁹ Hand, 18.

⁹⁰ Hand, 8. See also K. T. 564-5.

⁹¹ K. T. 654-56.

Bathurst,⁹² we are told, came to Patna in 1190 Fasli and after delivering to him the Kist of Asin and Kartik he had to go to Benares where he got entangled in some trouble but from which place he sent the Kist of Aghan, too. But after taking all these Kists, Mr. Bathurst took in his possession all the Mahals of the Mokarrari (perpetual lease) and began to collect the rent. No reply was sent to complaints lodged with the authorities at Calcutta. On the arrival of Sir John Shore at Patna, M. Kalyan Singh returned there from Benares but he also paid very little heed to his grievances. The Maharaja followed him to Calcutta and Murshidabad, appeared before the Council, and saw the Governor, who was in a hurry to leave for Lucknow and told the Maharaja to follow him. The latter fell ill at Benares on account of the hardships of the journey. On his return journey, the Governor was accompanied by the Maharaja from Ghazipur to Patna and then left for Calcutta. As desired by him, Rai Majlis Rai, the agent of the Maharaja, was sent with all the necessary papers and documents, but without doing anything in the matter, the Governor left, after sometime, for England.

On the arrival of Lord Cornwallis, in Calcutta, the Maharaja secured his permission to see him there. He left for Calcutta in a great state of destitution, in 1195 Fasli, and remained sitting there for 24 years. His case was referred to the Board, examined by Mr. Barlow, and ultimately sent to England from where

⁹² The whole of this account is based on K. T. 576-580, 609-623.

he waited in vain to get a decision in favour of his claim for the annuity granted in perpetuity. Pending this decision he was granted⁹³ 18,000, annually. The climate of Calcutta carried away a large number of his men and also his elephants and horses. He himself became involved in debts and fell victim to a disease in 1217 Fasli which deprived him of his eyesight. He returned to⁹⁴ Patna through boats for a change of climate in 1218 Fasli and as his coloured and painted buildings and charming gardens in the City were then in a state of ruins, he rented a house in Pathri Ghat where he used to receive the kind visits of Mr. Abraham Weland. It was at the instance of the latter that the Maharaja wrote his history which was primarily meant to relate the detailed account of Mir Muhammad Qasim Khan, the Nazim of Bengal. Having finished the work in one year in the house of Mehdi Hasan he left for Calcutta in⁹⁵ 1119 Fasli—1227 A.H./1812 A.D. He died there in 1237/1822.

⁹³ Once, when found in most abject penury, he was given a lump sum of Rs. 30,000 (K.T. 622). We get references in Governor's letter to loans frequently asked for, and very often refused to the Maharaja and also to certain amounts occasionally allowed to the Maharaja. (i) C. P. C. V, VI. (ii) Hunter's Analysis.

⁹⁴ K. T. 13-14.

⁹⁵ K. T. 667.

TERRA COTTA PLAQUE OF VIGRAHAPĀLA- DEVA

(WITH PLATE)

A. BANERJI-SASTRI

The terra cotta plaque described below was acquired by Mr. S. Sohani of the Indian Civil Service (Bihar). The exact provenance is not known. The inscription is too worn out to be read with certainty. The object of publishing even a few readable lines is to draw attention to a number of similar plaques discovered during excavations at Nalanda and at present kept in the Nalanda Museum. When I visited this Museum on behalf of the Patna Museum in November last, I drew the attention of the Keeper of the Museum to the historical value of these plaques and asked whether any attempt had been made to decipher and publish them. I was told that nothing had been done so far but it was proposed to take them up if a suitable officer of their department could devote the requisite time. Some of these plaques were discovered years ago but the Archaeological Department could not even arrange to supply photographs of the inscriptions to scholars who might study them.

Yet the information contained in these plaques may prove of considerable historical interest. The present plaque is dated in the reign of Vigrahapāla-deva *rājādhirāja*. As will appear from the appended

chronological table of the Pāla kings there were three kings bearing the name of Vighrahapāla. The *characters* of the inscription in the present plaque belong to the 11th century A.D. The king therefore seems to be Vighrahapāla III, reigning roughly from 1042 A.D.

The *characters* belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of the 10th-11th centuries A.D. found in the other well-known inscriptions of the Pāla period some of which are mentioned in the *Early History of India* by V. Smith¹. The seals and other inscribed objects reproduced in Plate LIX of *Excavations at Paharpur, Bengal*² show practically the same features. They are very similar to the 11th century inscriptions on the Kurkihar Bronze Images³ now housed in the Patna Museum.

In *orthography*, most of the peculiarities of the three Kurkihar Bronze inscriptions of Vighrahapāla are found here. All the four, from the point of view of palaeography, refer to Vighrahapāla III.

The *language* is incorrect Sanskrit.

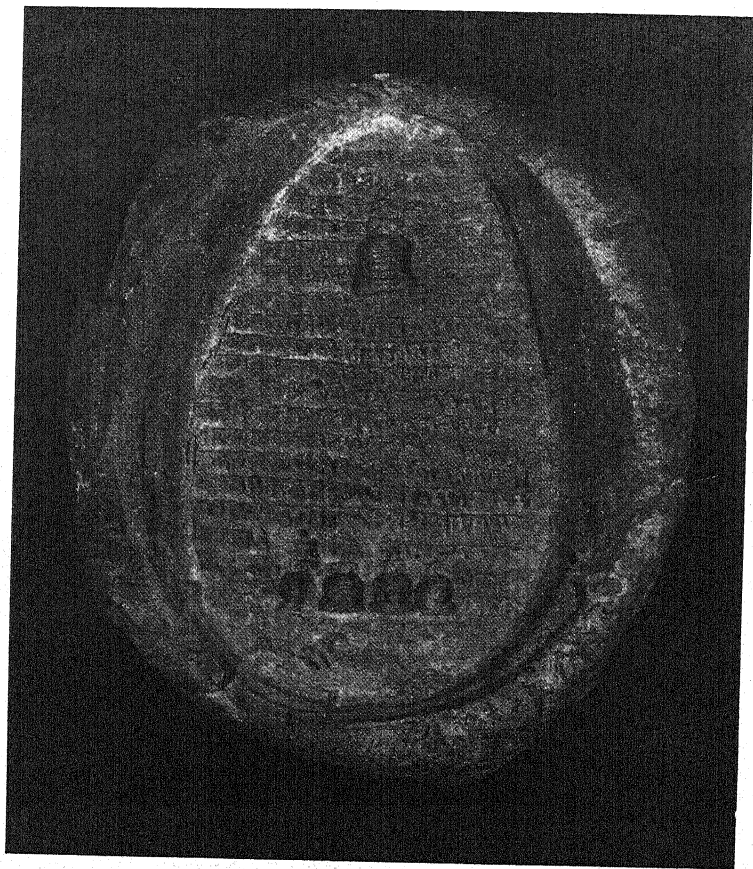
The three Kurkihar image inscriptions read as follows :—

- I. (1) Siddham śrīmant-Vighrahapāladeva-rājādhi-
rājah Prama (parama) bhaṭāraka-rāje saṃ-
mat 19.
- (2) Mahātam mṛdvala.....ta ॥ Utīmarākasyah

¹ Smith, *Early Hist. Ind.*, 4th edition, 1924, p. 413.

² Dikshit, Mem., A.S.I., No. 55, pp. 75; Plates LIX and LXV.

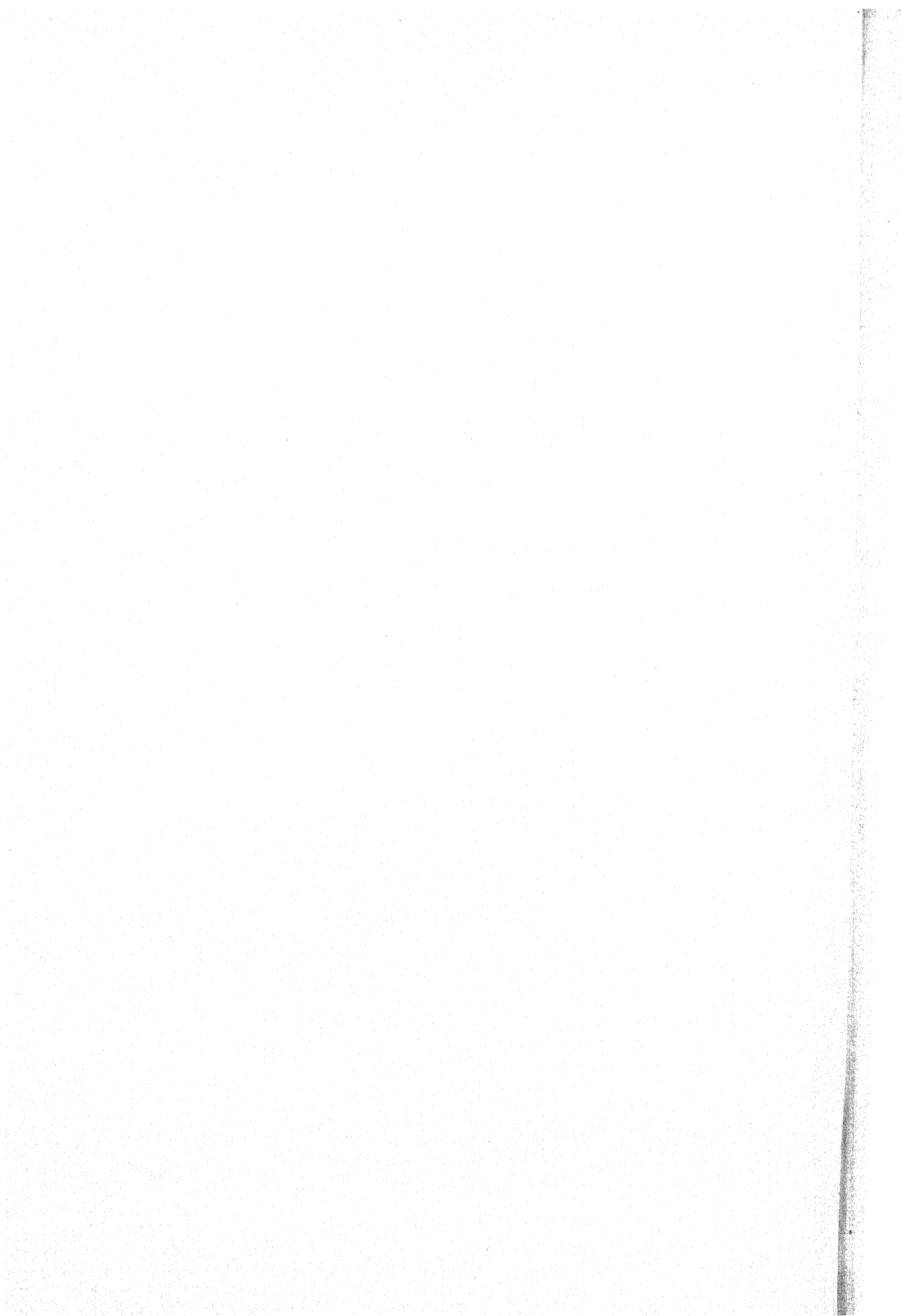
³ Inscriptions on the Bronze Images from Kurkihar (81 inscr.) are being published by the present writer in the *Epigraphia Indica*.



Terra Cotta Plaque of Vigrahapāladeva

J. B. O. R. S., 1940

A. B-Ś.



- II. (1) Siddham Śrīman-Vigrahapāladevasya raja-
dhirajaḥ
(2) Pramabhaṭāka-rāje Saṃmat 19 mahatama
(3) Dulapavadhu-Pekhokāyāḥ
- III. (1) Siddham Śrīman-Vigrahapāladeva-Vijaya-
rāje saṃmat 3
(2) devadharmo-'yam pravara-mahāyāna-jaina
pramopāsa-
(3) ka-Dulapa-sutaḥ Tikukasya

Only the first four lines of the present plaque may be read with some confidence. The rest are too indistinct to be of any use in putting together the occasional clear letters. The first four lines are as follows:—

- (1) Siddham (by symbol) svasti
(2) Śrīman-mahārāja
(3) Vigrahapāladevasya
(4) vijayarāja-saṃvatsare 8
(5) deyadharmo-ya (m) Śāntarakhīasya

English translation:—

- (1) Blessing (by symbol) well-being.
(2) and (3) of His Majesty Mahārāja Vighra-
pāladeva
(4) In the year 8 of the glorious reign
(5) this is the pious gift of Śāntarakhīta.

The 17th line reads (*li* from the end of the 16th line) khitamiti 'written, here ends'. Follows the name of the engraver, the letters being probably Indrasuta Dharama 'Dharama son of Indra'. The 19th line closes the inscription with Subham 'Benediction'.

The inscriptions on the Pāla plaques in the Nalanda Museum, I found to be surprisingly well-preserved and clear and may yield information that may throw new light on Pāla history. It will be instructive to compare these plaques with inscriptions on the bricks and on the images as well as the copper plates for a clarification of Pāla chronology as well as the character and extent of their rule in Bengal and Bihar.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE PĀLA KINGS*

	Approximate year of accession
I Gopāla	770 A.D.
II Dharmapāla	780 „
III Devapāla	815 „
IV Vighrahapāla I or Sūrapāla I ..	850 „
V Narāyānapāla	860 „
VI Rājyapāla	915 „
VII Gopāla II	940 „
VIII Vighrahapāla II	970 „
IX Mahīpalā I	978 „
X Nayapāla	1026 „
XI Vighrahapāla III	1042 „
XII Mahīpalā II	1070 „
XIII Sūrapāla II	1075 „
XIV Rāmapāla	1077 „
XV Kumārapāla	1120 „
XVI Gopāla III	1125 „
XVII Madanapāla	1130 „
[XIII (?) Govindapāla]	1150 „]

*The approximate dates have been taken from R.C. Majumdar, A.S.B., 1921. They have been discussed by Messrs. R.D. Banerji, R.C. Majumdar and Mm. H. P. Sastri. Cf. Majumdar, *Chronology of the Pāla kings of Bengal*, A.S.B., 1921, pp. 5 ff.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN BIHAR AND BENGAL DURING VERELST'S GOVERNORSHIP

By NANDALAL CHATTERJI

The exigencies of the policy, underlying the introduction of the dual system of government, prevented the Company's servants from assuming a direct responsibility for the administration of justice in the whole of the province. Left to the nominal care of the Nawab and the Ministers who possessed no real powers, the machinery of law and justice in the Diwani portion of Bengal lost its former efficacy, and virtually ceased to operate beyond the narrow circle round about Murshidabad. Calcutta and the Ceded lands, being directly under the control of the Company's servants, had of course regular courts of justice, but even there the judicial organisation was not free from anomalies and imperfections. Fully sensible though he was of the gravity of the situation in this respect, Verelst had neither the authority, nor the resources to introduce any comprehensive plan of reform in the administration of justice in Bengal.

In accordance with the traditions of Mughal administration, the judicial powers in the 'Subah' were shared between the Nawab and the Diwan. In theory, the Nawab was the supreme magistrate in the province, and was responsible for the maintenance of the peace and administration of criminal justice,

while the Diwan, by virtue of his office as the head of the provincial exchequer, held charge of civil jurisdiction, and was the highest judge in all civil and revenue matters. As a matter of fact, however, this line of demarcation between the jurisdiction of the Nizamat and the Diwani was practically obliterated after the assumption of the Diwani by the English. Despite its accession to the office of Diwan, the Company strictly enjoined upon¹ its servants not to interfere in the administration of justice, while the Nawab, having merely "the name and shadow of authority,"² had neither the power, nor the means to enforce³ the criminal jurisdiction of the Nizamat. The regular course of justice was thus, in the words of Warren Hastings, everywhere suspended.⁴ Muhammad Riza Khan who held the offices of Naib-Diwan and Naib-Nazim was more concerned with the collection of the revenue than with the exercise of civil and criminal jurisdiction. In consequence, there was a breakdown in the administration of law and order in the Diwani portion of Bengal, and there were few law courts having more than a nominal existence outside Murshidabad. In the countryside lawlessness was on the increase owing to the impotence of the Nizamat, and the number of dacoities rose to an al-

¹ Letter from Court, May 17, 1766. Third Report, 1773, p. 398.

² Beng. Sel. Com. January 16, 1767.

³ Fourth Report, 1773, p. 346.

⁴ Letter to Court, November 3, 1773. "The Court and Offices of the Nizamat were continued, but their efficacy was destroyed by the ruling influence of the Dewannee. The regular course of justice was everywhere suspended....."

arming extent.⁵ The 'Sannyasi' raiders, above all, created havoc in the outlying parts of Bengal, and the 'parganah' battalions found it increasingly difficult to cope with this danger.⁶ At Murshidabad the following officers had their courts :—⁷

1. *The Nazim* who, as Supreme Magistrate, presided personally at the trial of capital offenders and held a court every Sunday.

2. *The Diwan* who was supposed to decide cases relating to real estates and landed property, but seldom exercised this authority in person.

3. *The Daroghab-Adalat-al-Alia* or Deputy of the Nazim who was the judge of all matters of property, excepting claims of land and inheritance, and took cognizance of quarrels, frays, and abuse.

4. *The Daroghab-i-Adalat-Diwani*, or Deputy of the Diwan who decided cases relating to landed property.

5. *The Faujdar* who was the chief police officer and judge of all crimes not capital.

6. *The Qazi* who, besides being the judge of all claims of inheritance or succession, performed the ceremonies of weddings, circumcision, and funerals.

⁵ Muzaffar-Namah (Allahabad University Ms.) p. 441. Proceedings of the committee of Circuit, June 23, 1772. Beng. Rev. Cons. November 17, 1772, August 13, 1773, April 10, 1774, etc. Even the government revenues were sometimes plundered. (Trans. R. 1767-8, Nos. 281, 326, Trans. R. 1768. No. 224, etc.)

⁶ Beng. Sel. Com. April 30, 1767. Trans. R. 1768, No. 137, etc.

⁷ Letter from the Committee of Circuit to the Council at Fort William, August 15, 1772. Siyar (Lucknow Text), pp. 828-34.

7. *The Muhtasib* who took cognizance of drunkenness, the vending of spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs, and false weights and measures.

8. *The Mufti* who expounded the law and wrote the 'fatwa' applicable to the case, in accordance with which the Qazi pronounced his judgment. If, however, the Qazi, or the Muhtasib disapproved of the 'fatwa', the case was referred to the Nazim who summoned a general assembly of the Qazi, the Mufti, the Muhtasib, the Daroghahs of the Adalat, the Maulvis, and all the learned jurists to meet and decide upon it. Their decision was final.

9. *The Qanungo* who, as Registrar of the lands, acted as a referee in cases relating to lands.

10. *The Kotwal* who was Peace Officer of the night, subordinate to the Faujdar.

From the above list it would be apparent that there were properly three courts for the decision of civil causes and one for police and criminal matters. Of these, the courts of the Deputy-Diwan and the Faujdar alone were of some practical utility. The Courts did not always adhere to their prescribed bounds. Not only the Civil Courts encroached upon each other's authority, but both Civil and Criminal Courts sometimes took cognizance of the same subjects. For example, the Daroghahs of the Adalat-al-Alia, and of the Diwani judged the same causes, whether of real or personal property, and the parties made their application as chance, caprice, or interest governed their choice. As a fact, however, the Adalat-al-Alia had no real importance. The Diwani Adalat was in effect the only tribunal that had more than

a mere nominal existence.

In the districts the Faujdars acted as magistrates and chiefs of police, and had jurisdiction in criminal matters. They had under them 'Thanahdars' and 'Kotwals' who helped in maintaining peace in villages and cities respectively. It is to the Faujdars⁸ therefore that the people in the districts looked up for justice.⁹ The Qazi had his substitutes¹⁰ in the countryside, but their legal powers were too limited to be of general use, and the authority which they assumed, being often warranted by no lawful commission, was rather a source of oppression.¹¹ By virtue of their position in the hierarchy of the Diwani, the amils, shiqdars, naibs, and tahsildars had some jurisdiction in revenue cases, while the Mutasaddis who were clerks in the revenue department and the Qanungos who kept registers of the value, tenure, and transfer of lands acted as referees in cases of dispute or uncertainty regarding rights in land. In the interior of the country, particularly in rural areas, the zamindar in his private cutcherry administered a rough and ready type of justice,¹² and although he did not preside over the local Fauj-

⁸ Acts of oppression on their part were not infrequent. Vide Cop. I. 1766-67, No. 163, and Trans. I. 1766-67, No. 234, etc. and Siyar, p. 834.

⁹ Warren Hastings' Minute, December 7, 1775 (Bengal Secret Consultations).

¹⁰ The Qazis had their Naibs. (Vide Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 204).

¹¹ Letter from the Committee of Circuit, op. cit.

¹² According to Bolts, Considerations on India Affairs, p. 150, the defaulting ryots were "severely chastized" in the Zamindar's cutcherry.

dari Court, as has been wrongly stated¹³ in the Sixth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1773, his criminal jurisdiction may have extended, at least, to the petty offences committed in his area.¹⁴

That the organisation of law and justice was in a deplorable condition will be apparent from the following facts.

In the first place, the officers of justice received their appointments not on grounds of merit or suitability, but usually as a matter of official favour or indulgence. This encouraged unscrupulous people to seek posts in the courts of justice merely for the purpose of amassing immense fortunes for themselves.¹⁵ In consequence, venality and bribery were rampant, and "the painful task of rendering justice" was turned, in the words of the contemporary chronicler, "into a powerful engine for making a fortune".¹⁶

In the second place, the judges were not paid fixed salaries. They derived their emoluments from fines and recognised perquisites, but there was no one to check the rate of the perquisites they drew from their office.¹⁷ As a rule, they took a great deal more perquisites than had been their due in former times.¹⁸ Thus, the judges were often guilty of nothing short

¹³ The Sixth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, p. 2, "The Criminal Court, in every district, was generally known by the name of the phousdary; the zamindar or Raja of the district was the judge in this court."

¹⁴ The Sixth Report of the Select Committee, 1782, p. 11. Holwell's India Tracts, pp. 120-1. Bolts, op. cit., p. 81.

¹⁵ Siyar, p. 829.

¹⁶ Siyar, op. cit.

¹⁷ Siyar, op. cit.

¹⁸ Siyar, p. 830.

of extortion.

In the third place, the important office of the Qazi could be leased out and under-leased. The result was that people, ignorant even of the main principles of religion and law, took leases of what they called the Qazi's rights, and openly underleased them to others.¹⁹

In the fourth place, justice was not impartially enforced in every case, as rich people, even if guilty of capital offences, could always escape due punishment through composition by fine or mulct. In fact, according to Verelst, the decision of the judges was in most cases a "corrupt bargain with the highest bidder".²⁰ Ghulam Husain also asserts that the Qazi's office was 'an engine of oppression', for, on receiving a suitable fee, the Qazi could always "turn right into wrong, and injustice into justice".²¹

In the fifth place, the levy of one-quarter, called the Chauth, on the amount of all debts, and on the value of all property recovered by the decrees of the courts, was a highly iniquitous and oppressive mode of taxation²² sanctioned by the government. "In Bengal," Verelst observed,²³ "the people are so far from supposing justice due from the magistrate that one-quarter of the property in dispute belongs to the judge, as a reward for his trouble."

¹⁹ Siyar, p. 827.

²⁰ Beng. Sel. Com. August 16, 1769. Vide also Dow, *The History of Hindostan*, I, p. cxxxi, and the Seventh Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1773.

²¹ Siyar, p. 828.

²² Letter from Committee of Circuit, op. cit., Verelst's View, etc., p. 136, footnote, Bolts, op. cit. p. 160.

²³ Verelst's view, etc. op. cit.

In the sixth place, another serious defect in the judicial system was the want²⁴ of properly graded subordinate courts for the distribution of justice in such parts of the province as lay out of the reach of the Courts at Murshidabad. In consequence, only the well-to-do or the vagabond part of the population could afford to travel so far for justice. The poorer classes had practically no access to the courts at Murshidabad. "Much these poor wretches will bear," as Mr. Becher pointed out in his letter of May 24, 1769, "rather than quit their habitations to come here to complain, especially when it is to be considered that it must always be attended with loss of time, and risk of obtaining redress....."²⁵

In the seventh place, owing to the absence of an effective control from Murshidabad, it was easy for people in the interior to assume judicial powers without any lawful title or commission.²⁶ Dow has hardly exaggerated in stating, "Every Mahomedan who can mutter over the Coran raises himself to a judge, without either licence or appointment; and every Brahmin, at the head of a tribe distributes justice according to his fancy".²⁷ It was to prevent this growing evil that Verelst eventually directed the Supervisors to require all officers of justice in towns and villages to produce and register their 'sanads'.²⁸

In the eighth place, the authorised 'Faujdari Bazi

²⁴ Letter from Committee of Circuit, op. cit.

²⁵ Beng. Sel. Com. July 8, 1769.

²⁶ Letter from Committee of Circuit, op. cit.

²⁷ Dow, op. cit.

²⁸ Letter of Instructions to the Supervisors. (Vide Verelst's View, etc., p. 238).

Jama' or fines²⁹ for petty crimes and misdemeanours were not only an obnoxious exaction³⁰ in themselves, but constituted an additional incentive to bribery and oppression. It is interesting to note that the supervisors were specially instructed by Verelst to put an end to all arbitrary fines.³¹

In the ninth place, registers and records of proceedings were not kept by the Courts. This, according to Verelst, encouraged the natural propensity of the judge to bribery and fraud, "by making him easy with respect to any future prosecution on a rehearing of the cases which have been thus partially determined".³²

In the last place, certain practices³³ sanctioned by Muslim law were extremely anomalous, such as the infliction of fine, instead of capital punishment, for murder with an instrument not formed for shedding blood, the privilege granted to sons or the nearest relations to pardon a murderer, or the execution of the sentence passed on the murderer by the children or the nearest relations of the murdered. Barbarous punishments³⁴ such as mutilation or impalement, likewise allowed by the Islamic law, were also not uncommon.

In the Ceded lands the administration of justice was more regular because the Chief at Chittagong, or

²⁹ Letter from Warren Hastings, November 3, 1772.

³⁰ Letter from the Committee of Circuit, *op. cit.*

³¹ Letter of Instructions to the Supervisors. (Vide Verelst's View, etc., p. 237).

³² Beng. Sel. Com. August 16, 1769.

³³ Letter from Warren Hastings, July 1, 1773. (Beng. Rev. Cons. August 3, 1773.)

³⁴ For example, a person guilty of forgery had his right hand cut off. Vide Fifth Report, 1773, p. 546.

the Residents at Midnapur and Burdwan, in addition to their normal duties, were also concerned with the courts of justice in their districts. They were invested with the superintendence of the Faujdari jurisdiction, and were authorised to arrest robbers, dacoits, and other disturbers of the peace. Under their supervision, the proceedings of the courts, except in matters of a trivial nature, were regularly recorded, and the sentences could not be executed, until approved and signed on the one hand by them on behalf of the Company as Diwan, and by the Nawab on the other. The judgment of the Faujdar had normally to be forwarded to Murshidabad for confirmation. When orders were received from the Naib-Nazim, it was the duty of the Chief or the Resident to enforce the execution of those orders. Appeals against the conduct³⁵ of the latter could at all times be made to the Governor and Council. In cases of capital punishments, the Chief or the Resident not infrequently sought the advice of the authorities at Calcutta. For example, the Resident at Midnapur once wrote,³⁶ "Some very horrid murders have lately been committed here. The perpetrators are now in prison; the facts have been fully proved upon them, and are now confessed by themselves. What would you have me do with them? I wish to hang them for the sake of example, but do not think it would be proper to proceed to that extremity without your approbation." In reply,

³⁵ Verelst's View, etc. Appendix, p. 220

³⁶ Letter from the Resident at Midnapur to the Collector-General, July 9, 1768.

the authorities issued the following instructions,³⁷ ".....the perpetrators ought to be tried in Fousedar's Court at Midnapore; where, if the facts are proved, they must be condemned to death." The District Records of Chittagong, however, incidentally reveal that the trials for Capital offences were usually held by the Chief and Council and sometimes by the Chief alone.³⁸

In his "View of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the English Government in Bengal," Verelst has referred to a number of local courts at Burdwan, and in this connection he mentions clearly that "the like administration" prevailed in the other districts³⁹:—

1. *The Sadar Cutcherry*. In this Court, not only were all the land-rents and revenues of the district received, and accounts relative to them adjusted, but all transfers of land and property were confirmed, and differences between landlord and tenant heard and determined.

2. *The Bakhsbi Dastur*. This Court superintended the conduct of all the forces, guards, and other persons employed for the maintenance of the public peace.

3. *The Faujdari Adalat*. The Jurisdiction of this court was wholly confined to criminal matters, and the judgment of capital offences.

4. *The Barab Adalat*. This was a court of

³⁷ Letter from the Collector-General to the Resident at Midnapur, July 19, 1768.

³⁸ Letter from the Chief at Chittagong, April 26, 1769.

³⁹ Verelst's View, etc., Appendix, pp. 219-20.

'meum and tuum' for all demands above fifty rupees.

5. *The Amin Dastur*. This court was subordinate to the Sadar Cutcherry, and all complaints relating to the business of the revenue and the conduct of those employed in the collections were first heard here, and referred thence to the Sadar Cutcherry.

6. *The Chotab Adalat*. This Court took cognizance of petty suits for debts not exceeding fifty rupees.

7. *The Bazji Zamin Dastur*. It was the court for settling all differences relating to charity and rent-free lands.

8. *The Bazji Jama Dastur*. This Court took cognizance of social offences like adultery, abortion, etc., and had jurisdiction in matters concerning grants for lands and public works for the accommodation of travellers, such as 'sarais' or resting places, etc.

9. *The Kharaj Dastur*. The land-holder's accounts, when settled, were sent to this court for payment, and in cases where the debtor was incapable of paying the amount due, the court had the power to compromise the debt.

At Calcutta there were two sets of courts—one instituted by the Royal Charters and exercising jurisdiction from the English Crown over British subjects, their native employees, and other persons who willingly subjected themselves to that jurisdiction, and the other, established by the Company in its capacity as zamindar, and deriving its authority from the country government, and having jurisdiction over the local inhabitants only.

The following courts⁴⁰ of justice had been instituted by the Royal Charters⁴¹:—

1. *The Mayor's Court*. It was a Court of Record, consisting of the Mayor and nine aldermen, seven of whom, together with the Mayor, were to be natural-born British subjects, and the other two might be foreign protestants, but subjects of a state in amity with Great Britain. It could try, hear, and determine all civil suits, actions, and pleas that might arise within the settlement, except such as concerned the natives alone. It could take cognizance of the suits and actions between the natives also, when both the parties concerned, by mutual consent, submitted the same to its determination.⁴² It also granted probate of wills, and letters of administration for the estates of persons dying intestate. The Mayor and Aldermen were appointed by the Governor and Council, but after appointment they held their office for life, although upon a reasonable cause they might be removed by the Governor and Council, such removal being subject only to an appeal to the King in Council

⁴⁰ Verelst's View, etc., Introduction, Chapter V, etc. Bolts, op. cit., Chapter IX. Second Report, 1772. Sixth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1773. India Office Records Department, Correspondence Memoranda, Vol. 9. India Office Records Department, Parliamentary Branch, Collection, No. 8 Early Parliamentary Papers relating to India, printed in 1788; Collection No. 22. "Some Records Relative to the Mayor's Court by Firminger (Bengal; Past and Present, Vol. VII). Introduction to the Fifth Report by Firminger, Chapter V. etc.

⁴¹ For the Charters, vide Cowell; History and Constitution of Courts and Legislative Authorities in India.

⁴² Letter from Court, March 4, 1767, "The Charter empowers the Mayor's Court to entertain suits between natives, if the defendant does not object to the jurisdiction."

in England.

2. *The Court of Appeals.* It was also a Court of Record, consisting of the Governor and Council. It was authorised by the Charter to receive, hear, and finally determine every cause appealed from the decrees of the Mayor's Court, in which the value of the suit did not exceed one thousand pagodas, or about four hundred pounds sterling. From its decision in suits exceeding that sum, an appeal could lie to the King in Council, upon security being given for the payment of the amount decreed, with interest from the date of the decree, and costs of the suit.

3. *The Court of Requests.* It consisted of twenty-four Commissioners who sat on every Thursday to hear and determine in a summary fashion all such actions or suits as did not exceed five pagodas, or forty shillings in amount. One-half of the Commissioners retired every year by rotation, and the members of the court filled up the vacancies by ballot among themselves.

4. *The Court of Quarter Session.* The Governor and members of the Council who had power to act as Justices of the Peace held Quarter Sessions four times in the year, and at all other times, they acted as Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery to hear, try, and punish all criminal causes, except high treason, arising within the town of Calcutta and the factories subordinate thereunto. They were authorised to appoint and summon Grand and Petty Juries for the purpose of such trials.

Besides the aforesaid courts, there were the

following courts established under the authority of the country government⁴³.—

1. *The Court of Cutcherry*. It consisted of the Company's servants under Council, any three of whom including their President met upon days stated at their own option to hear, try, and determine, in as summary fashion as possible, all matters of 'meum and tuum', wherein only the native inhabitants of Calcutta were concerned. Appeals from the decisions of this Court could lie to the Governor and Council. Usually, arbitration was encouraged⁴⁴ in disputes regarding property. Parties that objected to arbitration were fined up to Rs. 200. On refusal to pay the fine, they were liable to be imprisoned. Persons appointed to arbitrate were also fined on refusal to do so, and were imprisoned, if reasons for their refusal appeared to be frivolous. The Court levied a special 'pachotra' or tax upon the amount of the suits instituted before them. The 'pachotra' was levied generally upon the whole amount of the suits, although the decrees were often for a part of the sum sued for.⁴⁵ The 'pachotra' was also levied, even though the suits were dismissed as groundless. As regards the range of the jurisdiction of this court, it is interesting to note,

⁴³ Verelst's View, etc., pp. 27-8, etc. Bolts, op. cit., pp. 80-83, Dow, op. cit., p. cxxi. India Tracts by Mr. Holwell and Friends, London, 1774, (Vide A Vindication of Mr. Holwell's Character, p. 120, etc.)

⁴⁴ Letter from the Court of Cutcherry, February 16, 1768. Beng. Pub. Cons. February 22, 1768, O. C. No. 2.

⁴⁵ Letter from the Committee of Appeals, February 10, 1768. Beng. Pub. Cons. March 3, 1768, O. C. No. 4. Letter from the Court of Cutcherry, March 7, 1768. Beng. Pub. Cons. April 11, 1768, O. C. No. 5.

the Council laid down early in January, 1768, that it should not summon the natives living under the jurisdiction of the country government. The Council's resolution⁴⁶ in this connection runs: "On any complaints being made by inhabitants within our districts against others within the districts of the government the same is to be represented to the President who will write to the officers of the Government where such person sued resides, and recommend an impartial enquiry to be made and justice done."

2. *The Zamindari or Faujdari Court.* It was presided over by a member of the Council, or sometimes a servant under Council, alone. His duty was to hear all complaints of a criminal nature among the native inhabitants who did not apply to the English Court of Justice. He proceeded in a summary fashion to sentence and punish by fine, imprisonment, or condemnation to work in chains upon the roads in ordinary cases, and by flagellation even to death in capital cases. In latter cases, he usually first obtained the approbation of the Governor and Council before the fatal stroke was ordered.

3. *The Collector's Catcherry.* The Collector who was generally a member of the Council, though sometimes a junior servant, had charge of the collection of the revenues of the Calcutta lands and the twenty-four parganahs, and, as such, took cognizance of all causes and disputes relating to the payment of the revenues. He punished the defaulting farmers and tenants, and punished others also for crimes and

⁴⁶ Beng. Pub. Cons. January 11, 1768.

misdeemeanours, independently of the other courts established at Calcutta. From the very nature of his office, he was concerned with the police of the town of Calcutta. Besides, he issued, under the Company's seal, the 'pattahs' to the inhabitants for the tenure of their houses and grounds, granted licences to the natives to marry, superintended the collection of duties, and farmed out the privilege of exercising many handicraft-trades.

4. *The Caste Cutcherry*. The Court was presided over by some distinguished Hindu Official nominated by the Governor. In Verelst's time, Maharaja Nabakrishna, the Company's Political Banyan, held charge of this Cutcherry. The court took cognizance of all matters relative to the caste observances of the Hindus. In the exercise of his authority, the judge was assisted by a number of learned Brahmin priests in consultation with whom he pronounced judgment. The punishment awarded by this court was generally in the form of a sentence of excommunication, rendering the offender an outcaste from society.

The judicatures established at Calcutta were not insufficient for the ordinary requirements of the settlement, but their jurisdictions were ill-defined, and their constitution was not wholly satisfactory.

As the courts were more or less an offshoot of the executive machinery itself, executive power and judicial authority were concentrated in the hands of the same persons, *i.e.*, the Governor and Council. Bolts's denunciation⁴⁷ of the whole system of justice

⁴⁷ Bolts, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-111

is doubtless highly exaggerated and biassed, but it at least serves to expose the anomalous character of a system under which, to use his own words, the Governor and Council could, in fact, be the parties to prosecute, the magistrates to imprison, the judges to sentence, the sovereigns to order execution, and such despots in authority that no grand or petit jury would easily venture to disoblige them.⁴⁸

Verelst in his aforesaid work has refuted the arguments of Bolts at some length, and has tried to establish⁴⁹ that the Governor and Council were not "cruel tyrants", nor were the courts of justice "engines of oppression", and the judges "servilely complaisant to the ruling power," as alleged by Bolts. It can not be denied, however, that as the Aldermen owed their nomination⁵⁰ to the Governor and Council who constituted both the Court of Appeals and the Court of Quarter Session, the executive authorities did possess a preponderant influence in the sphere of justice.

The position of the Mayor's Court was a subject of controversy. Owing to its ill-defined authority, the Mayor's Court often assumed powers, in the words of a contemporary writer, "if not illegal, at least impolitic."⁵¹ The terms of its institution being

⁴⁸ Bolts, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

⁴⁹ Verelst's View etc., p. 21.

⁵⁰ The Governor and Council had, in the words of Bolts, the power of making and unmaking the Judges. Bolts, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁵¹ "Considerations on a pamphlet entitled: 'Thoughts on our acquisitions in the East Indies particularly respecting Bengal', 1772, p. 43.

vague, there was room for doubts⁵² as to whether its authority could extend beyond the Maratha Ditch, whether the native employees of the Company could be deemed to be British Subjects, and whether they could be subjected to the Laws of England.⁵³

The constitution of the Courts further did not provide for the appointment of experienced lawyers as judges. As a consequence, judicial power rested in the hands of men who had no training in law.⁵⁴ The judges were not always even senior in age and service. The Parliamentary enquiry of 1772-3 revealed, for instance, that the Aldermen of the Mayor's Court were mostly junior servants of the Company.

The position and powers of the Cutcherries too were ill-defined. For example, the want of a proper demarcation between the jurisdictions of the Court of Cutcherry and the Zamindary Cutcherry encouraged many people to carry causes already tried by one court for a fresh trial to the other. During Verelst's period,

⁵² Sixth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1773, House of Commons Reports, Vol. IV. p. 331.

⁵³ A contemporary writer observes, "Within the immediate limits of the Company's settlements, in all criminal cases, and in contests with Europeans, the Indians are subject to the English laws; yet in the former, the jury consists of an equal number of Indians and Europeans; and in the latter, their ceremonies are preserved in the administration of oaths, and in every other matter wherein their customs are concerned." Vide "A Second Letter concerning the Proposed Supervisorship." Printed for Richardson and Urquhart under the Royal Exchange, 1769. Vide also House of Commons Reports, Vol. IV op. cit.

⁵⁴ The author of "A Second Letter Concerning the Proposed Supervisorship," op. cit., pleads, "I am far from insinuating the Company's servants can do no wrong. They are men—but not worse than other men."

the Court of Cutcherry once strongly complained about this to the Governor and Council in a letter, dated September 28, 1767.⁵⁵ They pointed out that their decrees were in this manner "liable to be reversed through different representations of the case and those who have complied therewith" suffered "long and severe imprisonments as well as other punishments unless by application to us they cause the Zamindar to be acquainted with the previous decisions of the cause."⁵⁶

It would be unjust to conclude an account of the administration of justice in Verelst's time without referring to his statesmanlike insistence on continuing to the people their own laws, customs, and magistrates.⁵⁷ "As well might we transplant the full-grown oak to the banks of the Ganges," he rightly urged, "as dream that any part of a code matured by the patient labours of successive judges and legislators in this island, can possibly coalesce with the customs of Bengal."⁵⁸ That to impose English laws on the people of India would be not only highly impracticable, but an act of sheer injustice was a principle which Verelst held⁵⁹ no less ardently than Warren Hastings.

⁵⁵ Beng. Pub. Cons. October 1, 1767.

⁵⁶ Letter from the Court of Cutcherry, September 28, 1767, O. C. No. 8, October 1, 1767.

⁵⁷ It will be recalled that Verelst compelled Col. Smith to revoke his order demanding the implicit obedience of the Sepoys to British laws. Beng. Sel. Com. February 10, 1768, etc.

⁵⁸ Verelst's View etc., p. 134.

⁵⁹ Verelst has written a whole chapter in his oft-quoted work to prove "the impossibility of introducing English laws into Bengal." Verelst's View etc., pp. 130-148, Chapter V.

Miscellaneous Articles

AN ACCOUNT OF IBRĀHIM 'ĀDIL SHĀH OF BIJAPUR (1534-57)¹

By K. K. BASU

With Ibrāhim 'Ādil's coronation the imperial throne became powerful and resplendent. The new Sultan conciliated the nobility by virtue of his disposition. He restored harmony in the country by wiping out the evils that had resulted from the tyranny of Mallu Khān.

Effect of Ibrahim's
accession.

The historians agree in opinion that, Ibrāhim was very high spirited. He maintained a big army and was always prepared to unsheath the sword. He inspired such an awe in the Deccani Sultans, that, they could not lead an easy life. At times, he despatched his forces against the enemy and had him destroyed along with his country. Occasionally, he would personally lead his army and secure victory. Naturally, the potentates of the South united their efforts against the Bijapur Sovereign, but they could not take anything by their motion. If, perchance, the Bijapur army got into a mess, Ibrāhim would, in no time, reorganise his forces and wreak his vengeance on the

Warlike habits of
Ibrahim.

¹ From original Persian Sources.

victors.

The story goes that, Shah Tahmasp, the ruler of Persia, once remarked that, Afrasiyab Turk² and Ibrāhim 'Adil were the only two sovereigns who were noted for their individuality, strength and valour.

* * *

Ibrahim was the foremost among the 'Adil Shahi dynasts to change the religion of the ancestors.

Ibrahim's religion. He kept into the background the names of the Imāms³, suppressed the rituals of the Imāmiya⁴ and brought the religious rites of the Sunnis⁵ to the front. He drew the veil over the custom prevalent in the army of wearing high-crowned scarlet caps with twelve gores (*Taṣ Dawazdah Turki*) in imitation of the *Qizil-bāshes*⁶ of Persia. He dismissed all foreigners, who had been appointed during the late regime, from office. He employed 400 Mughals and put the Decca-

² A Turk by descent and much celebrated in Persian poetry, Afrasiyab is said to have overrun Persia and killed its king Nazar some seven hundred years before the birth of Christ. He was defeated and slain at Azerbaijan by Zalzar and his son Rustam.

³ The rightful heir of the Faithful—The list of the twelve Imāms, according to the Shias, begins with Ali, the cousin-german of the Prophet and husband of his daughter Fatima and ends with Muhammad al-Askari.

⁴ The Shias are also known as Imāmiya.

⁵ Unlike the Shias, the Sunnis, meaning "one of the Patti" or a "Traditionalist" recognise Abu Bakr, Umar & Usmān as legitimate Imams or Khalifs.

⁶ The word is Turkish, meaning "Red Heads".

⁷ Ibrāhim's predecessors, Yusuf and Ismail were Shias: his Successor Ali Adil Shah I was also a Shia. Whereas Ibrahim himself, Ibrahim II (Successor Ali Adil Shah I), and Mahmud (son of Ibrāhim II), were Sunnis. Sikandar, the last king of the dynasty had leanings towards Sunni rites.

nies and the Sunnis in commission. With the exception of Asad Khan Lari and Kush Kola Āqā Rumi, all the other amirs were thrown overboard. The court language was changed from Persian to Marathi. The Brahmans and other Hindus rose to prominence in public service. Maratha soldiers were employed in the army.

Appointment of
the Marathas.

Court language
Marathi.

Ibrahim's cam-
paign against Vijaya-
nagara: His success
& return.

On the second year of his reign, Ibrāhim marched his armed force against Vijayanagara, and being flushed with success, he returned to his capital.

The foundation of Vijayanagara, the ancient seat of kings, was laid some seven or eight hundred years ago. Its puissant Hindu rajas stood on their rights. With an extensive territory and with a strong army and a well-filled treasury, the Rajas of Vijayanagara got ahead of the other Rajas of northern and southern India.

Early history of
Vijayanagara.

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Meanwhile, the Bahmani *régime* got the upper hand in the Deccan. The Almighty lent out His helping hand to the Muslims in their holy wars. The army of Islam marched annually against the infidels and put an end to idolatry. Consequently, the glory of the Vijayanagara empire was impaired. Nevertheless, the non-muslims would make a timely advance against the Believers and ravage their territory.

During the sovereignty of Sultan Ahmad Bahmani⁸ of Bidar, Shew Raya⁹, one of the greatest kings of Vijayanagara, ascended the throne in 1840 H. (1436 A.D.).

About Shew Raya. During the rule that lasted for eight and twenty years, he dealt even-handed justice to his people and opened his purse-strings to all.

Raja Ajit Raya¹⁰ was the seventh in succession from Shew Raya. The former was noted for his equity and the interest that he took for the weal of his subject population.

Raja Ajit Raya. He maintained the customs and usages of his forefathers and offered welcome to some of the Muslim nobles, who owing to the pressure of the times, had taken refuge in his court. For them he apportioned a land where they constructed buildings for purposes of residence. The *Turkwallas*, as these Muslims were called, enjoyed perfect toleration in religious faith. Thus, with honour, glory and acts of charity to his credit, the Raja ended his earthly career, and was succeeded by a one-year old infant.

Tim Raja¹¹, a powerful noble of the court, now took the reins of government, and when the boy-king came to years of discretion the mayor of the Palace set him

⁸ Ahmad Shah 1422-1435.

⁹ Both Ferishta and Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi (author of *Busatin us Salatin* writes سیواری. But it is certainly a Muhammadan name for Deva Raya II who ascended the throne in 1419 A.D. and not in 1436 A.D. as stated by Mirza Ibrahim. Deva Raya II ruled from 1419 to 1444 (?) A.D. See R. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*.

¹⁰ Refers to Krishna Deva Raya who ruled from 1509-1530.

¹¹ Refers to Saluva Timma.

aside and placed another infant of the royal family on the throne. When the new king came of age, he too, was dethroned and another minor was anointed king in his stead. There was the repetition of the same old story so long Tim Raja lived.

After his death, Ram Raja (son of Tim Raja) came to power. In perfidy and treachery, Ram Raja

Ram Raja. even surpassed his father. He

soon became insensible to the past benefits that he had secured from the royal house and manifested total discourtesy to his royal master. Having married one of the princesses¹² and thereby established an affinity to the ruling house, he raised his head of arrogance to the skies. In insolence and haughtiness he even threw Bahram¹³ and Kaiwan¹⁴ into the shade. He put the young Bhoja Tirmul¹⁵, who belonged to the female line of the royal family, to the throne. When Bhoja attained majority, he became sick of Ram Raja's authority and passed his time in breathless expectation of his own liberation.

In the interim, Ram Raja assumed the offensive against the insurgents of the frontiers and invested

some of their fortresses. During Raja Bhoja seeks the minister's long absence from help from Bijapur. the capital, the young Raja

¹² Ram married the daughter of Krishna Deva.

¹³ The Planet Mars.

¹⁴ The Planet Saturn.

¹⁵ Both Ferishta and Mirza Ibrahim make a wrong statement of facts. Inscriptions do not give us the name of any prince of the female line at this period. Further Ferishta differs from Mirza Ibrahim on this point. Ferishta writes that Bhoja Tirmul Raya was the uncle of the infant (born in the female line) who was raised to the throne by Ram Raja. But

sent a quick-witted and experienced ambassador with a petition and presents of six lacs of *huns*¹⁶ and other precious articles to Ibrāhim 'Ādil Shāh. The petition ran as follows: "Your Majesty! may you be good enough to direct your auspicious steps to my country and thereby transform it into a paradise. For goodness sake! Do away with the traitor (Ram Raja) whose authority lies heavy on me and my country, and let me have a will of my own. Upon my honour, I shall offer you enormous wealth, and shall ever be at your beck and call!"

Ibrāhim 'Ādil yielded assent and made arrangements for sending help to the Raja. When Ram Raja was informed of the advent¹⁷ of a muslim force he became ruffled and perplexed. He lost

Ram Raja's letter
to Bhoja.

no time in sending a letter through an agent to Raja Bhoja. "I know not," the epistle stated, "why your Majesty has sent an invitation to 'Ādil Shah. If it be for chastising your humble slave for the sins that he has committed, the slave is willing to make a confession of his guilt and is now prepared to do your bidding. I swear that in future I would never kick up a dust or be at open war with you. Is it desirable that the Muslims should approach our country? Would they not destroy and ruin our land by their advent? Think of the consequences when they would raze our temples

Mirza Ibrahim makes the uncle and the nephew identical. Here we probably find an allusion to the reign of Achyuta (1530-42 A.D.). See Sewell, p. 169.

¹⁶ *Huns* also called *Pagodas* worth Rs. 2.

¹⁷ Acc. to Ferishta, Ibrahim Adil reached Vijayanagara in 942 H. (1535 A.D.).

to the ground, set up mosques in their places and lay their hands on our women and children. God forbid, if the country is once laid waste it can never thrive again. Should such a dis-service be done to our land? For God's sake, be kind to the Country, and set your wits to work upon a scheme that would lead to the dismissal of 'Ādil Shāh, who is an old enemy of the empire." Raja Bhoja, whose death had drawn near, swallowed the bait of the treacherous and wily fox. He gave credence to the deception of the minister. He sent him a present of 44 lacs of *huns* (another version 80 lacs) and other precious articles to 'Ādil Shāh and requested him to retrace his way back. The sole object of the Bijapur Sultan was to acquire an enormous wealth out of the expedition and set the Raja at ease. Having gained his end, the Sultan veered round. The information about

the retrogression of the Muslims reaching him, Ram Raja was soon

Ram Raja kills
Bhoja.

on his way to Vijayanagara; he sent Raja Bhoja to the eternal world and without any difficulty ascended the throne.

Ibrāhim 'Ādil Shāh became cognizant of Raja Bhoja's death and the faithlessness of Ram Raja.

He sent Sipah Salar Asad Khan with a formidable army against the fort of Adoni.¹⁸ The Bijapur general enclosed the fort, whereupon Ram Raja despatched his (younger) brother Venketadry with a heavy

Asad Khan, the
Bijapur general, marches against Adoni.

¹⁸ Adhvani as properly spelt. A hill fortress south of the river Tungabhadra, on the railway line between Madras and Bombay.

detachment against the besiegers. At the approach of Venketadry, Asad Khan abandoned the siege and offered him battle. A fatal conflict ensued in which the infidels gained a footing. Asad made good his escape but he was pursued by the unbelievers for a few leagues. On the decline of day, Asad Khan pulled himself up, and Venketadry, too, set up his tent at a distance of 5 or 6 leagues from him. Then, with the first blush of the morning, when the felicitous Hindu army were off their guard, Asad Khan with 4000 chosen warriors burst upon the enemies. The

Success of Asad. Hindus fought tooth and nail,

but they could not withstand the furious onslaught of the Muslims and were vanquished. Venketadry winged his way out of the battle field leaving his harem, moveables, elephants, and horses in the hands of the victor. At length, the Hindu

general came to terms and rescued his family from the Muslims, while Asad returned to his capital heavily laden with spoils of war.

The Sultan of Bijapur became pleased with his general's valour and faithfulness. He made him

a gift of eighty elephants captured in war and other materials. Bijapur Sultan Asad's daughter marries Asad's daughter.

Asad Khan's bravery had severely been put to the test, and his sincerity in the cause of royalty had also been fully established. Being desirous of increasing the dignity and honour of his minister, the Sultan now desired that his relation with Asad should be cemented by matrimony. He, therefore, led Asad's daughter to the altar. Whenever

the Sultan was in high spirits he would address his courtiers in these words: "In valour and fidelity Asad has no equal. It is, therefore, becoming that in return for all that he has done, his daughter's son should be made the heir-apparent."

Ain-ul-Mulk Kān'ani, an old retainer of 'Ādil Shāh, possessed exceptional gallantry. In the fulness

Rebellion of Ain-ul-Mulk and his defeat: Flees to Ahmadnagar.

of time, he fortified Kulhar, and owing to his vanity and evil fortune and the ill-advice of his companions he prepared for independence. For the purpose of dealing retributive justice to the traitor, 'Ādil Shāh led a big army against him. Having full reliance on his own courage and his handful of soldiery, Ain-ul-Mulk offered a strenuous resistance. At last, in a bloody contest that followed he came off second best. He left his baggage behind and beat a hasty retreat. Finding no suitable refuge he, at last, took himself off to the country of Nizām Shāh. But Nizām Shāh was annoyed with the fugitive for two reasons—firstly, the latter was instrumental in effecting a disagreement between Nizām and 'Ādil; and secondly, he had proved a traitor to his master. Nizām Shāh, therefore, passed an order for Ain-ul-Mulk's execution.

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The amirs of the Bijapur court burst with envy at the exaltation of Asad Khan's rank and dignity and the ever-increasing interest of the Sultan in the affairs of his minister. They set to poisoning

Plot against Asad Khan.

the minds of the Sultan against Asad¹⁹. Having a common creed²⁰, Asad was in the same boat with Nizam Shāh (of Ahmadnagar). The former was, therefore, in favour of giving away the fortress of Belgaum to the latter. When a distorted version of the alliance between Asad and Nizam was reported (by the courtiers) to the Sultan of Bijapur, he became sulky and tristful. Without ascertaining the truth of the allegations, he dismissed Asad from the post of Sipah-salar.

Whereupon (Burhan) Nizam Shah (of Ahmadnagar 1508-53) who was a close enemy of Bijapur

Nizam joins Khwajah Jehan & Barid & attacks Bijapur. and was awaiting an opportunity, formed a pact with Khvaja Jahan Dakhini (the chief of Parenda) and Amir Barid, (of Bidar 1504-

1549) and marched the allied forces towards Bijapur²¹. The confederates devastated the enemy country as they proceeded and reached Belgaum in the hope that Asad who was in a state of inquietude would join the confederacy. The allies were not on the wrong scent; when they approached Belgaun, Asad joined them with his 6000 attendants, and the whole army marched against Bijapur laying waste the countries that came on their way.

Failing to take his stand against his opponents, Adil Shah, the Bijapur Sultan, retreated to Gulburga,

¹⁹ Asad was a *Shia* in matters of religious faith,

²⁰ Both were *Shias*.

²¹ Ferishta places this expedition in the year 949 H. (1542 A.D.)

Distress of the Bijapur Sultan. and Nizam laid siege to the Bijapur capital. By nature faithful and conscientious, Asad now collected

his thoughts and decided to render service to the suzerain to whom he was beholden. Through a trusty agent, he sent a letter to Imūd ul Mulk²². It

Asad's petition to Bijapur Sultan.

read thus: "The unsympathetic report of the malicious persons has caused the removal of the master's sympathy from the servant for no fault of the latter. The enemies are, now, on the point of doing mischief. It is only meet and proper that on an occasion like this Imad ul Mulk should intervene for effecting a reconciliation (between Ibrahim and Asad) and securing royal pardon for Asad."

(At last) when Imad-ul-Mulk reached Gulburga, Asad wheeled round and joined him. In due course,

Asad restored to royal favour.

Imad reported to the Bijapur Sultan about the uncharitable conduct of Asad's enemies. Upon

this, Ibrahim Adil sent for Asad and offered him gifts. Thus, with Asad's return, Ibrahim regained his strength and in conjunction with Imād he marched

Bijapur's success.

against Nizam. After a few engagements Nizam fled and was hotly pursued by the victors. The fugitive, at last, left Ahmadnagar for Daulatabad.

Flight of Ahmadnagar Sultan.

The Bijapur Sultan now veered round and having secured the places that had passed on to the Nizam²³ returned

²² Or Alaaddin Imad Shah of Berar.

²³ Ferishta says that Sholapur and its dependencies were

to his capital.

Subsequently, Nizam became ashamed of his defeat. The fact that Sholapur and its dependencies

had gone out of his hands gave Nizam's alliance him no rest. With great skill with Ram Raja.

and diplomacy he effected an enmity between Ibrahim Adil and Ram Raja. Having made Jamshed Qutb ul Mulk (or Qutb Shah of Golconda 1543-50) join his side and securing the co-operation of Khvaja Juhan Dakhini and Amir Barid, Nizam sent an army against Bijapur. Next, he laid siege to Sholapur and its environments and laid waste the entire country. Ibrahim Adil, on the other hand, raised an army in self-defence. The Adil Shahi forces usually defeated the attacking horde.

Meanwhile, Jamshid Qutb Shah (of Golconda) had also reached the confines of Bijapur and engaged in plundering it²⁴. Ram

Ibrahim delivers Sholapur to Nizam. Raja, on his part, had placed his younger brother Venkatadry

at the head of a large army and made him proceed to Raichur and Mudgal. Finding it difficult to organize a defence at all those places that had been attacked by the enemies, Ibrāhim Adil, held a council with Asad. After a mature deliberation, Asad advised the Sultan on the expediency of giving up Sholapur

restored to Ibrahim. Ferishta also mentions that in order to strengthen the alliance Ibrahim Adil marries Rubia Sultana, the daughter of Alauddin Imad Shah of Berar in the year 950 H. (1543 A.D.).

²⁴ Ferishta writes that the Golconda Sultan laid siege to Kakny and Etgeer.

to Nizam Shah. Thus, with the surrender of Sholapur, peace and security was established.

Afterwards, Ibrahim Adil sent a qualified messenger with a letter and some valuable presents to the court of Vijayanagara. The Raja was pleased with the conduct of the Bijapur Sultan and gave up his hostility with him.

Next, Ibrahim Adil, deputed Asad Khan against Qutb Shah. After a few encounters Asad inflicted a defeat on Qutb and drove him towards Tilang. The fugitive was pursued by the conquering hero to Golconda.

Here a fresh engagement took place. The two leaders of the belligerent forces came to a *passage d'armes*. Qutb received a serious wound from his adversary. (It is reported) that as a result of this wound Qutb had to face life-long trouble in taking his meals.

Out of his old enmity with Bijapur and a stimulus from Ram Raja, Nizam led his vast forces against Ibrahim Adil and began ravaging his territories. He next pitched up his tents on the banks of the *Bhima*, and prevented the

Bijapuris from fording the river. After some opposition Ibrahim Adil crossed the stream and ranged in forces against the enemies. The fourth encounter was the severest. The battle lasted from dawn till evening. The contestants fought with

Ibrahim pacifies
Vijayanagara with
presents.

Ibrahim sends an
army against Qutb
Shah: Defeat of Gol-
conda.

Nizam sends an
army against Bija-
pur.

Battle of Urchan
1544 A.D.

their swords and arrows. After a great deal of exertion and heavy carnage the Bijapuris came off with flying colours, and the army of Nizam

Defeat of Ahmadnagar forces.

Shah showed a clean pair of heels. Adil Shah's forces laid their hands on heavy spoils of war, such as, umbrellas, drums, flags, *Alam-i-Māhi Marātib*, 135

They leave behind heavy spoils of war.

elephants, some of which were heavily laden with valuable articles and 120 ordnance-piece. It was a unique victory that the Bijapuris had won!²⁵

From his infancy, Adil Shah was high-spirited, audacious, dashing and hot-tempered. Hence, he would appear in the front in the battle-field and would not care for the strength and vehemence of the enemy forces. The successes

Adil Shah undergoes a change in his temperament.

that he won in the battles made him fiery and irritable. He lost all sense of charity and kindness. Though in the solicitude for the subjects' welfare and in carrying on the work of the administration he excelled other sovereigns, yet he now began putting to prison and killing persons for minor offences. In matters of justice, he made no distinction between the high and the low. Consequently, his courtiers took alarm and they began to dislike him. They hatched conspiracies and proposed to enthrone Abdullah, the brother of the Sultan.

Conspiracy in the court.

But the secret leaked out before the schematists could carry out their commission.

²⁵ Ferishta reports that subsequently Ahmadnagar renewed war with Bijapur and twice defeated her.

The Sultan began persecuting the evil doers and executed about 110 amirs, both Hindus and Muslims. Consternation prevailed in the city (Bijapur), and Abdullah fled to Goa and sought refuge with the

Christians²⁶. The Sultan mis-
Asad is disgraced.

doubted Asad's conduct and withdrew all his favours from him. Consequently, Asad had to leave the court, and his relatives were incarcerated. Subsequently, with a view to showing his sincerity and obligation, the faithful and open-hearted Asad, sent a petition and some presents consisting of horses, elephants and valuables to the Bijapur Sultan. This letter described that its writer was without any fault and that if permitted he was ready to appear at the court. On receipt of Asad's epistle, Ibrahim Adil liberated the relations of Asad and sent them to Belgaum. Soon afterwards, Asad's health broke down, and medicines were of no avail.

Bijapur Sultan
pays visit to Asad. Finding that his end had drawn
near, he sought an interview with
the Sultan. The Sultan made necessary arrangements

for paying a visit to Asad. With
Death of Asad
Khan. continuous and rapid marches he
reached Belgaum where he received the news of Asad's death.

Asad was aged more than hundred years at the

²⁶ Ferishta mentions that Prince Abdullah corresponded with Ahmadnagar and Golconda for assistance: that Ahmadnagar Sultan tried to prevail on Asad to join him but failed: that Abdullah, who had proclaimed himself king set out with the Portuguese to Bijapur, and as the rebellious Bijapuri nobles returned to their allegiance to Ibrahim Adil, Abdullah had to retrace his steps to Goa. He was killed in 1554.

time of his death. He had served the state under its two Sultans for about five and forty years. Full of glory and renown he passed away in 956 H.²⁷

His character and achievements.

(1549 A.D.). He was interred near the fort of Belgaum, whose foundations he had himself laid. His cemetery became the place of pilgrimage in later ages.

It is reported that about 100 goats, 200 fowls and a proportionate quantity of ghee, rice (about 100 mds.) wheat and other accessories were daily consumed in his kitchen. His household numbered 250 servants. He possessed more than 100 elephants, 400 horses and a vast wealth.

Asad possessed a high character, judgment and talents. In bravery and charitable disposition and as a patron and protector of the nobles he had no equal. In statesmanship splendour and magnificence he was unequalled. He was never deprived of Divine assistance or military glory. He was respected and esteemed by all. He introduced the fashion of wearing waist band of gold cloth in the aristocratic Society.

His mausoleum is honoured and venerated like those of the great saints. The people frequently pay visit to it, offer their prayers for the fulfilment of their desires, and are never disappointed. The sepulchre is taken care of by a large number of attendants. Many miracles happen at this spot. Both the Hindus and the Muslims visit this locality. It is uncertain

²⁷ According to a second version (Mir Ibrahim Asad Khani) Asad's death took place in 965 H. or 1558 A.D.

if he had any religious disciples or if he imparted any religious instructions to the people²⁸.

We now return to Ibrahim Adil. Though haughty and fiery spirited and a strict judge who punished people for minor offences, the Sultan respected the scholars and the learned men. He looked after the well-being of the civil and military population. He indulged in luxury and took delight in the company of beautiful and charming women.

Character of Ibrahim.

The Sultan had four sons, viz., Ismail, Ali, Tahmasp and Ahmad. All the princes faithfully served their royal father. But the Sultan fastened his likings on Ismail, his first-born child. The Sultan had nominated him as the heir-designate. The abilities of these

About the princes.

princes were often put to the test. Each of the princes conducted the foreign campaigns and if he was successful in the expedition he was regarded as fortunate and in luck's way. Story runs that, whenever any enterprise was set on foot in the name of Ismail it invariably turned out unsuccessful, and whenever it was undertaken in

About Ismail.

the name of Ali it was always rewarded with success. For all this the Sultan disliked Ali, and he would taunt him saying, "Fie on thee! how dare you aspire the throne!". It so happened, that Prince Ali who was then aged

About Ali.

²⁸ Ferishta mentions that Mahtāb Bibi, the second daughter of Asad, was married to Ali Barid of Bidar.

seven was cast into prison in the fortress of Mubarakabad, (also called Murtuzabad) popularly known as Mirch. There the prince was kept confined for nine years.

²⁹The death of Asad Khan and the alienation of the people from the Bijapur Sovereign on account of his ill-temper offered a fresh

Enmity of Ahmadnagar.

opportunity to Burhan Nizam Shah and he renewed his hostility

with Ibrahim Adil. Burhan sent emissaries to the court of Ram Raja and invested Kalyān which belonged

Ibrahim Adil marches against Kalyan.

to the Sultan of Bidar, an ally of Ibrahim. At the request of the

Bidar ruler Ali Barid, Ibrahim led

his forces in relief of the besieged. At first, Ibrahim intercepted the supplies of the Ahmadnagar forces, but later, Burhan Nizam made a surprise attack against the Bijapuris and conquered Kalyān.

Ibrahim, next, attacked Parenda, ravaged Ahmadnagar and took measures for recovering Kalyan.

Agreement between Ahmadnagar & Vijayanagara.

Burhan, on the other hand, retook Parenda and met Ram Raja in a conference held at Raichur in

959 H. or 1551 A.D. An agreement was made to the effect that Mudgal and Raichur should be recovered from Bijapur and returned to Vijayanagara, while Ram Raja should help the ruler of Ahmadnagar in reconquering Sholapur. The confederate armies succeeded in taking Mudgal and

²⁹ It is curious that, Ibrahim Zubairi, the author of *Busatin-us-Salatin*, makes no mention of the events that we now describe, we have drawn upon Ferishta.

Raichur, and then Ram Raja left Venkatadri his younger brother for assisting Burhan Nizam and wheeled round to his capital. At last, the Ahmadnagar Sultan seized Sholapur and made his return to his place of residence. On the death of Burhan Nizam in 1553 A.D., his successor Husain made a treaty with Ibrahim but it was impermanent. Khvaja Jahan

Ibrahim's struggle
with Ahmadnagar.

Dakhini prevailed upon the Bijapur Sultan to reconquer Sholapur from the Ahmadnagar potentate.

Ibrahim Adil accordingly came to an understanding with Ram Raja and gave a leg-up to Husain's brother and rival, Ali. The two opposing forces—the one belonging to Husain and the other to his antagonist and brother Ali, and the latter of which received assistance from Bijapur, appealed to arms at Shola-

Former's defeat.

pur. In this conflict, Ibrahim Adil was out of the running; he met with three other similar reverses at the hands of his enemies. Ibrahim was thus forced to take refuge in the citadel of Bijapur, which was ultimately blockaded by Seif-Ain-ul-Mulk, the Ahmadnagar general. Thus

He seeks help
from Vijayanagara.

pressed, the Bijapur Sultan made a requisition for armed assistance from Ram Raja and the latter sent an army under his brother Venkatadri in compliance. It was now the turn for Ain-ul-Mulk to court disaster. He now packed off to Ahmadnagar, where he was done to death by its ruler Husain.

When the life of Ibrahim got to its journey's end, he laboured under maladies, such as complicated

Death of Ibrahim
Adil.³⁰ fever, neuralgia, asthma and piles. The physicians from far and near, tried their utmost but failed. The ailments were on the increase and the suffering was prolonged. Some doctors were, on suspicion, punished for their inaction and remissness; others, out of fear, deserted the city. The druggists closed down their pharmacies and gave up their profession. The disease of the Sultan continued for a couple of years and at last, he departed this life in the year 965 H. (1557 A.D.). His mortal remains was interred in the royal cemetery at Gogi. The rule of Ibrahim

About Ibrahim
Adil's daughters. Adil lasted for twenty-four years and a few months. He left two daughters (besides the four sons) viz., Tani Bibi, who was married to Ali Barid (of Bidar) and Hadia Sultan, who was wedded to Murtaza Nizam Shah (of Ahmadnagar).

Sultan Ibrahim is credited with having constructed cities, palaces and masjids. In 933 H. (1526-27) he is said to have laid the foundation of Ibrahimpur. Some two years later, i.e., in 935 H. (1528-29) an edifice called *Sanjdah Satumi Mahal* (or the palace of 16 pillars) was built: in 947 H. (1540-41) the *Harkotah* (a building) was completed, and in 958 H. (1551) the Jami Masjid was erected. It was under the Sultan's orders that the Ark-killah or the citadel, was completely fortified under the supervision

³⁰ The author of *Busatin-us-Salatim* resumes the thread of his narrative at this point.

of Khan A'zam Ikhtiyar Khan in A.H. 953 or 1546.³¹ The construction of Rangin Masjid, called after its colouring of the walls, is also attributed to his reign³². There is some controversy about the setting up of the *Mehtar Mahal* or the Sweepers' Palace, a name applied to the ornamental gateway leading to a mosque and garden, during the reign of Ibrahim. Rumour goes that, once when the Sultan had been afflicted with leprosy he bestowed, at the suggestion of an astrologer a large sum of money to a sweeper who was the first person that was seen by the king on a certain morning. The said beneficiary, after he had fully satisfied all his wants, spent the residuary to the construction of the said Mahal³³.

The military strength of Sultan Ibrahim Adil consisted of 30,000 cavalry, 2,30,000 infantry and 450 elephants.

The city of Bijapur was flourishing and rich: unlike the other cities in the south, it comprised a large number of merchants who trafficked in gold, silver, jewels, beautiful garments and ornaments.

The country was well-stocked with soldiers; and it provided amenities of life. The peasants and the industrial folk were contented and happy. The poor and the needy flocked to the court for material help and their desires were always fulfilled.

Report goes, that at the time of Sultan Ibrahim's death the treasury contained 1,50,00,000 huns, and

³¹ J. M. Campbell, Bombay Gaz. XXIII (Bijapur), pp. 574, 584.

³² Ibid., p. 584.

³³ Ibid., p. 623 et seq.

that Prince Ali, the successor of Ibrahim, emptied the treasury by his benefactions on the soldiery, the needy, the scholars and the poor.

Reviews of Books

THE TRAVANCORE TRIBES AND CASTES. By L. A. Krishna Iyer, M.A. With a Foreword by J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., D.Sc. and an Introduction by Baron Egon von Eickstedt. $5 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, pp. i-xiii, 1-344. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, Trivandrum, 1939.

Professor Hutton (p. vi) very rightly points out the utility of such studies—"Money spent on the investigation of the customs and habits of tribes, even when they are so few in numbers and of no account politically, is very far from wasted if the administration of these tribes is made easier and better, more satisfactory to the administrators and more acceptable to the administered." Dr. von Eickstedt in his interesting Introduction traces the History of Anthropological Research in India and emphasises the value to science of such contributions. The maps, illustrations and charts are well-conceived and helpful.

The book is an admirable attempt to continue the well-known series of Travancore Ethnology. Both the Government of Travancore and the author deserve praise and thanks for an undoubted piece of useful work.

A.B-S.

NANDPUR. PART I. By B. Singh Deo, B.A.,
B.L. With an Introduction by Dr. Ba. Seshagiri
Rao, M.A., Ph.D. $6 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 1-156. Jeypore, 1938.

This is really a reconstruction of the Jeypore family in Orissa. The Jeypore Raj-family is claimed to be descended from the Orissa Gadjaths which in their turn go back to the break-up of the Orissa Gajapati kingdom of Prataparudra Deo in the five Northern Circars of the Deccan after the Bahamani Kingdom came to an end about 1526.

Such monographs on local rule must precede a general reconstruction of early, medieval and modern history of India. As such they serve a useful purpose. A word of caution is, however, necessary. A proper evaluation of mere subjective or traditional evidence to a large extent depends on checking them in the light of archaeological finds. The history of this 'Forsaken Kingdom' would have been more convincing if occasionally the author had not been led away by bias—even family bias.

The book is otherwise readable. With more experience the author might make it more reliable.

A.B-Ś.

RGVEDAVYĀKHYĀ. Mādhavakṛtā. Edited by
Prof. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.Phil. (OXON).
Adyar Library, 1939. 5×8 . Pp. 1-472.

This edition of the commentary on the Ṛgveda by Mādhava is based on a single manuscript deposited in the Adyar Library. "It bears the shelf No.

XIX. L. 52 in the Library and is entered under the Title "R̥gvedasūktanirukta" in the catalogue of the Library, Vol. I, p.i (Supplementary List). The Manuscript contains the commentary on the first aṣṭaka of the R̥gveda.

The editor has given an interesting note on Mādhava the present commentator differentiating him from Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya and author of R̥garthadīpikā. The commentary of this latter Mādhava is printed in smaller types after the R̥gveda-vyākhyā.

The text in four adhyāyas is well-printed. Till more manuscripts are available a critical judgment on the accuracy of the text from a single manuscript has to be deferred. Such books will serve as a timely stimulus to further searches into the various collections of Sanskrit manuscripts all over India.

A.B.-Ś.

ZILA-DARPAN. Published by the Bal-Shiksha-Samiti of Bankipore. $7\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$, pp. 1—48 per volume, San. 1939.

This series is an adaptation from the District Gazetteers of Bihar for juvenile readers. The first sixteen numbers deal with Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Saran, Champaran, Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Purnea, Santhal Parganas, Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Palamau, Manbhum and Singbhum.

The compiler Gadadharprasad Ambashtha has done useful work in stimulating general interest in

the past and present history of the various districts of Bihar. In view of the elementary nature of the information meant for very young readers, it would have been more desirable if such expressions as 'Hindustani' in place of Hindi had been eschewed. On the whole, however, the information is free from bias.

The books are written in simple Hindi and would be easily understood by children.

A.B.S.

Notes of the Quarter

Proceedings of the meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on November 19, 1939.

Present:

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. Fazl Ali (in the Chair).

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D. LITT.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A., PH.D.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.PHIL.

Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala, M.A.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on July 30, 1939.

2. Passed the monthly accounts from July to September, 1939.

3. Confirmed payments of the following bills:—

(a) Allahabad Law Journal Press Bill No. 299, dated 16.8.39, printing charges of Journal, June issue, 1939 Rs. 245-6-9.

(b) Arthur Probsthain's Bill for books Rs. 72-14.

4. Elected the following gentlemen as ordinary members of the Society:—

(a) Babu Gadadhara Prasad Ambastha, Rural Development Training Institute, Phulwari.

(b) Babu Priyatosh Banerji, Patna College.

5. Considered the Mithila Pandit's application for granting him leave on average pay from 5.8.39 to 4.9.39 the period he was asked to suspend his work on account of his grant being under consideration of Government.

Resolved that he be granted leave on average pay from 5.8.39 to 4.9.39 as requested.

(b) Read Government letter No. 2360-E dated October 9, 1939.

6. Considered the application of the Secretaries of the South Indian National Association and Ranade Library for a free gift of the publications and Journal of the Society.

Resolved that he be informed that the Council regrets its inability to accede to his request.

7. Resolved that Dr. K. K. Dutta be requested to represent the Society at the Indian History Congress 1939.

(b) Resolved that Dr. Hari Chand Sastri and Dr. Azimuddin Ahmad be requested to represent the Society at the All-India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad, 1939.

8. Read letter No. 167/39 dated October 20, 1939 from Editor, *Catalogus Catalogorum*.

Resolved that a free copy of Journal Vol. XXI part I be sent to him.

SHAM BAHADUR

Honorary General Secretary

November 21, 1939

Proceedings of the meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on December 10, 1939.

Present:

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazl Ali (in the Chair).

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D.LITT.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A. D.PHIL.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.PHIL.

Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala, M.A.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on November 19, 1939.

2. Passed the monthly account for October, 1939.

3. Resolved that the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India be put on the exchange list of the Society.

4. Considered arrangement for the Annual General Meeting of the Society.

Resolved that the Annual General Meeting of the Society be held in the last week of March, 1940.

Resolved further that the following gentlemen be approached to address the Annual General Meeting of the Society:—

1. Captain D'Auvergne, Superintendent, Victoria Memorial, Calcutta.
2. Shamsul-ulema Khan Bahadur Hidayet Husain, Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal.
3. Prof. Soong, Shantiniketan, Bolpur, Bengal.
5. Resolved that the following gentlemen be elected officers and members of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society at the Annual General Meeting of the Society to be held in March 1940.

President—His Excellency Sir Thomas Stewart,
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid
Fazl Ali.

Secretary—Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D. PHIL.

Librarian—Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala, M.A.

Editorial Board—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid
Fazl Ali.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D. PHIL.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian, who are ex-officio members).

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazl Ali.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D. LITT.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A., D. PHIL.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. Sullivan, S.J.

J. L. Hill Esq., M.A.

Khan Bahadur Saiyid Mohammad Ismail.

6. Elected the following gentlemen as ordinary members of the Society:—

1. Syed Mehdi Imam Esq., Barrister-at-Law.
2. Mr. Arthur Young, Gaya Printers, Trilochan, Gaya.

SHAM BAHADUR

Honorary General Secretary

December 14, 1939

Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Reading Room of the University Library, Patna, on Saturday March 9, 1940.

1. *President*—His Excellency Sir Thomas Alexander Stewart, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., declared the meeting open.

2. On a motion of Mr. P. C. Manuk, Barrister-at-Law, the following members were elected office-bearers and members of the Council of the Society for the year 1940-41.

President—His Excellency Sir Thomas Alexander Stewart, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazl Ali, Barrister-at-Law.

Secretary—Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.PHIL.

Treasurer—Mr. Sham Bahadur, Barrister-at-Law.

Librarian—Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala, M.A.

Editorial Board—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazl Ali, Barrister-at-Law:

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.PHIL.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian, who are ex-officio members).

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazl Ali, Barrister-at-Law.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Varma.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. Sullivan, S.J.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D. LITT.

Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A., D. PHIL.

Khan Bahadur Saiyid Md. Ismail.

3. The Honorary Treasurer and the Honorary Secretary presented the Annual Statement of Accounts and the Annual Report.

4. The Vice-President reviewed the year's work of the Society.

5. The President invited Captain V. D'Auvergne, M.C., D.C.M., M.S.M., Superintendent, Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta to address the meeting.

6. Captain V. D'Auvergne, M.C., D.C.M., M.S.M., Superintendent, Victoria Memorial Hall, delivered an interesting lecture on "Tibet and its Ancient Sciences".

7. The President proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

8. Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair.

9. The President declared the meeting closed.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI

Honorary General Secretary

March 18, 1940

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1939-40

I—MEMBERSHIP

The total number of ordinary members and subscribers to the Society's Journal on the 31st December, 1939, was 123. The Society lost eleven of its ordinary members: nine by resignation and two by death. Seven new members and four new subscribers were enrolled in the course of the year. With the 13 Honorary members and 14 Life members, the total membership of the Society stands at 150.

At last year's Annual General Meeting the following were elected office-bearers of the Society and members of the Council:—

President—His Excellency Sir Maurice Garnier
Hallett, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid
Fazl Ali, Barrister-at-Law.

Secretary—Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A.

Treasurer—Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Librarian—Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.PHIL.

Editorial Board—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid
Fazl Ali, Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A.,
D.PHIL.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-officio members).

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazl Ali, Barrister-at-Law.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Verma.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. Sullivan, S.J.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A., D.PHIL.

II—MEETINGS

The last Annual General Meeting was held on the 21st March, 1939 in the Physics Lecture Theatre of the Science College, Patna. His Excellency Sir Maurice Garnier Hallett, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., President of the Society presiding. After the transaction of the formal business, the Vice-President reviewed the work of the Society during the past year. The meeting was followed by an interesting lecture illustrated with slides on "The Romance of Archaeology in India" delivered by Rai Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Director-General of Archaeology in India.

Meetings of the Council were held on the 30th July, the 19th November, and on the 10th December, 1939.

III—JOURNAL

During the period under review parts 1, 2, 3, and 4 of Volume XXV of the Society's Journal con-

taining 506 pages, 5 plates and one plan have been published. The volume includes the text of the *Pramāṇavārtikavṛitti*.

The following publications have been put on the Journal's exchange list:—

1. Jainasiddhāntabhāskara, Arrah.
2. Journal of the Assam Research Society.
3. Journal of the Indian Anthropological Institute, Calcutta.
4. Journal of the Bombay Historical Research Society.
5. New Asia, Calcutta.
6. Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.

IV—LIBRARY

During the year 114 books (148 volumes) and 186 journals were added to the Library. Of the books 21 were presented and 93 were purchased and of the Journals 41 were presented, 4 were purchased and 141 were obtained by exchange. On the 31st December, 1939 the Library contained 8354 volumes as compared with 8020 volumes at the end of the previous year.

V—SANSKRIT MSS. FOUND IN TIBET

Out of 1350 Photographs of Sanskrit manuscripts found in Tibet, 1198 have been enlarged and placed in the Library in bound albums.

VI—SEARCH FOR MANUSCRIPTS

The Printing of Volume IV of the Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in Mithila edited by Dr. A.

Banerji-Sastri is nearing completion. The cost of printing and publishing the volume will be met out of the funds generously placed at the disposal of the Society for the purpose by the late Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga.

The Mithila Pandit noticed 1032 manuscripts from February, 1939 to January, 1940.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FROM 1ST APRIL,
1939 to 31ST JANUARY, 1940

A. The actuals for 1938-39 showed a closing balance of Rs. 4,711-4-8 with the amount in Public account, *viz.*, Rs. 2,645-12-0, the total balance to the credit of the Society was Rs. 7,357-0-8 at the end of 1938-39.

B. As regards the actuals up to the 31st January, 1940 the current account closing balance was Rs. 176-6-4. To this must be added the amount in the Public account, *viz.*, Rs. 7,764-6-10 which gives a total of Rs. 7,940-13-2.

C. The chief sources of income are the Government grant, subscriptions, sale proceeds of the Society's Journal and interest on the amount in the Public account. The subscriptions realised upto the 31st January, 1940 amounted to Rs. 1,023-4-3 upto the 28th February, 1939 the realised amount was Rs. 1,205. The estimate for the whole financial year was Rs. 1,300.

Our realization from the sale-proceeds of published literature amounted to Rs. 338-10-0 upto the end of January 1940. For the same period last year, the amount was Rs. 231-8-6.

S. BAHADUR

Honorary Treasurer

February 10, 1940

ACTUALS UPTO JANUARY 31, 1940

INCOME

	Actuals			Revised Budget		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Subscription	1,023	4	3	1,300	0	0
Sale of Journal	322	2	0	150	0	0
Miscellaneous	0	4	0	0	0	0
Postage Recovered ..	9	1	0	10	0	0
Sale of Buchanan's Reports	16	8	0	0	0	0
Government Grant ..	5,133	0	0	5,133	0	0
Interest on P/A	118	10	10	0	0	0

OPENING BALANCE—

Hathwa fund	200	10	6	200	10	6
Darbhangra Fund ..	1,246	11	9	1,246	11	9
Mayurbhanj Fund ..	220	7	0½	220	7	0½
Tibetan Tanzur	1,000	0	0	1,000	0	0
Tibetan Expedition ..	3,356	12	0	3,356	12	0
General Balance	1,332	7	4½	1,332	7	4½
GRAND TOTAL ..	13,979	14	9	13,950	0	8

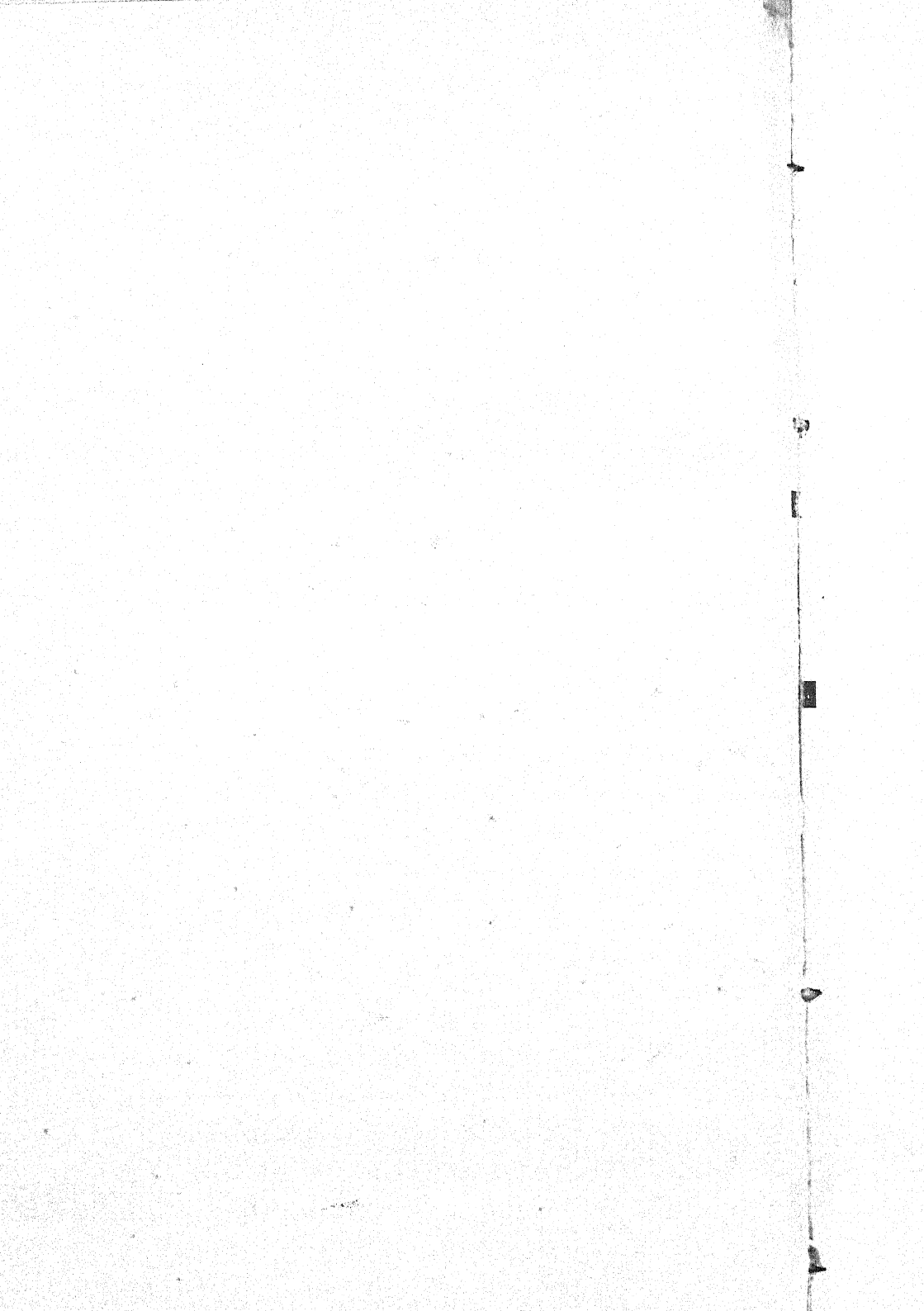
ACTUALS UPTO JANUARY 31, 1940

EXPENDITURE

	Actuals			Revised Budget		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Establishment	1,056	14	0	1,280	0	0
Mithila Pandit	1,316	5	7	1,608	0	0
Telephone	1	0	0	0	0	0
Printing Charges	1,225	4	6	1,218	2	0
Postage	262	2	9	400	0	0
Stationery	40	2	6	90	0	0
Library	520	7	6	1,209	2	3
Electrical Charges	108	10	0	100	0	0
Hathwa Fund	1	3	0	200	10	6
Darbhanga Fund	0	0	0	1,246	11	9
Mayurbhanj Fund	9	0	0	220	7	0½
Miscellaneous	96	10	6	300	0	0
Tibetan Tanzur	0	0	0	1,000	0	0
Tibetan Expedition	1,401	5	3	3,356	12	0
TOTAL	6,039	1	7	12,229	13	6½
CLOSING BALANCE	7,940	13	2	1,720	3	1½
GRAND TOTAL	13,979	14	9	13,950	0	8

Details of closing Balance on 31st January, 1940:—

	Rs.	a.	p.
Hathwa Fund	215	15	6
Darbhanga Fund	1,246	11	9
Mayurbhanj Fund	211	7	0½
General Balance	3,311	4	1½
Tibetan Tanzur	1,000	0	0
Tibetan Expedition	1,955	6	9
TOTAL	7,940	13	2



प्रयत्नोत्थत्वं शब्दे प्रसिद्धमेव । यथा बहुषु पिण्डेषु दृश्यमानेषु किमयमश्वो नवे^१ति संशयोऽभिधीयते विशा (? वा) णवानेष पिण्डो धर्मी नाश्वो विषाणित्वादिति । विषाणित्वं धर्मिणं विशेषयदपि प्रमाणप्रतीतत्वान्नासिद्धो हेतुः ।

साध्यकालाङ्गता वा न निवृत्तेरुपलक्ष्य तत् ।

विशेषोपि प्रतिज्ञार्थो धर्मभेदान्न युज्यते ॥१८८॥

अथवा विशेषणस्य प्रयत्नोत्थत्वादेस्तच्छब्दरूपं विशेष्यत्वेनोपलक्ष्यानुमानात् प्रागेव निवृत्तेः (१) साध्यकालेऽनुमेयप्रतीते कालेऽङ्गता विशेषणता नास्त्येव अप्रतीतं ह्यनुमानात् प्रत्येतव्यं । प्रयत्नोत्थत्वादि^१ति च प्रतीतं । न च तत्र विवादः । ततो धर्मिमात्रोपलक्षणन्तत् । यथा काको देवदत्तगृहोपलक्षणत्वान्न कार्योपयोगी (१) यद्यपि ^१ विशिष्टे धर्मिणि प्रतिज्ञार्थैकदेशत्वं हेतोः । तथा नित्यः शब्दः श्रावणत्वादिति शब्दस्वभावभूतस्य श्रावणत्वस्य शब्दत्ववत् प्रतिज्ञार्थैकदेशता स्यात् नासाधारणतेत्याह । न केवलं विषाणित्वादिविशेषः श्रावणत्वादि- 97b
रपि प्रतिज्ञार्थैकदेशो न युज्यते । धर्मस्य व्यावृत्तेर्भेदात् । श्रावणत्वं श्रवणग्राह्यताऽश्रावणव्यावृत्तिः (१) तच्च शब्देपि क्वचित् कञ्चित् पुरुषमपेक्ष्य भवति । अशब्दव्यावृत्तिस्तु शब्दत्वं तच्च सर्वत्रास्ति ततो व्यावृत्तिभेदात् शब्दे सिद्धस्य श्रावणत्वस्यान्यत्रानुवृत्तेरसाधारणतैव युक्तेत्युक्तं सपरिकरं पक्षलक्षणम् ॥

इति पक्षलक्षणम् ।)

६. हेतुचिन्ता

(२) हेतुलक्षणम्

म. पक्षधर्मप्रभेदकथने कारणम्

हेतुलक्षणमिदानीम्वक्तव्यं । तत्र हेतुलक्षणमेव तत्र यः सन् सजातीये^२ इत्यादिकं युक्तं ^१ वक्तुं । “सपक्षे सन्नसन् द्वेधा पक्षधर्मः पुनस्त्रिधे^२”त्यादिना नवधा पक्षधर्मप्रभेदस्तु कस्मादुक्त ^२ इत्याह ।

पक्षधर्मप्रभेदेन सुखग्रहणसिद्धये ।

हेतुप्रकरणार्थस्य सूत्रसंक्षेप उच्यते ॥१८९॥

^१ यदि च ।

^२ स मु च्च ये ।

पक्षधर्मस्य नवधा प्रभेदेन हेतुप्रकरणार्थस्य हेतुहेत्वाभासलक्षणात्मकस्य सुखेन ग्रहणस्य सिद्धये तदर्थवाचकानां सूत्राणां संक्षेपतः संग्रह उच्यते ॥ सपक्षे सन्नित्यादिना (१)

ख, सूत्रे निपातग्रहणफलम्

यदि पक्षस्य धर्मो हेतुस्तदा तद्विशेषणापेक्षस्य धर्मस्यान्यत्र धर्मिण्यननुवृत्ते-
रसाधारणता स्यात् । अथ पक्षेण न विशिष्यते तदा न पक्षधर्मो हेतुः स्यात् ।
असदेतत् । न ह्यन्ययोगव्यवच्छेदेनैव विशेषणमन्यथापि सम्भवादिति दर्शयितुमाह ।

अयोगं योगमपरैरत्यन्तायोगमेव च ।

व्यवच्छिनत्ति धर्मस्य निपातो व्यतिरेचकः ॥१९०॥

निपात एवकारो व्यतिरेचकः नियामकः क्वचिद् धर्मस्य विशेषणस्या-
योगं व्यवच्छिनत्ति क्वचिदपरैर्विशेष्यादन्यैर्योगं व्यवच्छिनत्ति । क्वचिदत्यन्तायोगं
व्यवच्छिनत्ति ।

ननु निपातो न स्वयं वाचकः किन्तु द्योतकः । तदस्य कथं मयमर्थप्रभद
इत्याह ।

विशेषणविशेषाभ्यां क्रियया च सहोदितः ।

द्योतकत्वादेव निपातो विशेषणेन सहोदितोऽयोगस्य व्यवच्छेदकः । विशे-
ष्येण सहोक्तोन्ययोगस्य । क्रियया च सहोक्तोऽत्यन्तायोगस्येति विशेषणादि-
पदवाच्य एवायोगव्यवच्छेदादिस्तत्सहोक्तनिपातद्योत्य इत्यर्थः ।

भवतु तावन्निपातप्रयोगे व्यवच्छेदविशेषस्य प्रतीतिः पक्ष^१ इत्यादौ तु
कथमित्याह ।

विचक्षातोऽप्रयोगेपि सर्वोऽर्थोऽयं प्रतीयते ॥१९१॥

व्यवच्छेदफलं वाक्यं यतश्चैत्रो धनुर्धरः ।

पार्थो धनुर्धरो नीलं सरोजमिति वा यथा ॥१९२॥

अप्रयोगेपि निपात^४स्य वक्तुर्विवक्षातः सर्वोऽयमयोगव्यवच्छेदादिरर्थः
प्रतीयते । यतो व्यवच्छेदफलं वाक्यमित्युक्तं प्राक् । वाक्यञ्चोपलक्षणं पदमपि
व्यवच्छेदफलं । न हि घटेनोदकमानयेति प्रतिपदमनवधारणेऽघटेनानयनप्रतिषेधः ।
पक्ष इत्यादौ तु कथमित्याह । अप्रयोगेपि निपातस्य वक्तुर्विवक्षातः सर्वोऽयम-
योगव्यवच्छेदोऽनुदकानयनप्रतिषेधः^५ अनानयननिवृत्तिर्वा शक्योपदर्शना । अयोग-

व्यवच्छेदादीनामुदाहरणमाह । यथा चैत्रो धनुर्द्धरः । पार्थो धनुर्द्धरः । नीलं सरोजमिति (१) चैत्रे धनुर्द्धरत्वसन्देहाद् विशेषणेनायोगमात्रं व्यवच्छिद्यते पार्थे धनुर्द्धरत्वं प्रसिद्धमेव (१) किन्तु तादृशमन्यस्यापि किमस्तीति सन्देहेऽन्य-योगव्यवच्छेदफलं विशेषणं । न खलु सर्वमेव नीलं सरोजं येना^१योगव्यवच्छेदः स्यात् । नापि सरोजमेव नीलं येनान्ययोगव्यवच्छेदो भवेत् । किन्तु नीलं सरोजं संभवति न वेत्यन्तायोगसंदेहे विशेषणेन स एव व्यवच्छिद्यते ।

ननु भवतु तावच्चैत्रो धनुर्द्धर एव । पार्थ एव धनुर्द्धरः । सरोजं नीलं संभवत्येवेति निपातप्रयोगे विवक्षावशात् विशेषणादिपदानामेव वा व्यवच्छेदप्रतिपादकत्वादप्रयोगेऽपि नि^१पातस्य चैत्रो धनुर्द्धर इत्यादिप्रयोगेषु योगव्यवच्छेदादीनां १८२ प्रतीतिः । पक्षधर्म इत्यत्र पुनःपक्षो विशेषणं । धर्मो विशेष्यः । तद् यदि पक्षस्यैव धर्म इति विशेषणेन सह निपात उच्यते अप्रयोगेऽपि वा विशेषणस्य तदर्थवृत्तितेऽप्यते । उप(?) भयथाप्यन्ययोगव्यवच्छेदप्रतिपादकत्वमेव स्यात् ।

अथ धर्म एव विशेष्यो निपातसहचरः । तदर्थं वृत्तिर्वर्षः तदाऽयोगव्यवच्छेदो लभ्यत एव परं^१ विशेषणसहितोऽन्ययोगं व्यवच्छिन्नतीत्युक्तेर्विवक्ष्यते । अत्रोच्यते । बाह्यो निपातः श्रूयमाणोऽपि विशेष्यादिभिः सह वक्तृविवक्षावशाद् गम्यमानो वाऽयोगव्यवच्छेदको भवतीति दृष्टान्तप्रदर्शनार्थमुक्तं । तथैव चैत्रो धनुर्द्धर इत्याद्युदाहरणप्रदर्शनात् । व्यवच्छेदफलं वाक्यमित्युक्तेश्च । समासे तु विशेषणमेवायोगादिव्यवच्छेदकं विवक्षावशादिष्टं । अयोगव्यवच्छेदे^२न विशेषणादित्युक्तेः । पक्षधर्म इति पक्षशब्दोऽयोगव्यवच्छेदकः । पक्षासम्बद्धो न भवतीत्यर्थः । चाक्षुषं रूपमिति चाक्षुषत्वस्य रूपे विवादाभावात् (१) शब्दादीनां विशेषणेन व्यवच्छेदः क्रियते । नीलोत्पलमिति । उत्पले नीलत्वनियमाभावात् (१) परेष्वभावादयोगान्ययोगयोर्व्यवच्छेदाभावात् नीलशब्देनात्यन्तासम्भवमात्रं व्यवच्छिद्यते । इति न कश्चिद्विरोधः ।

ननु य^३था पार्थ एव धनुर्द्धर इति विशेषणस्य सन्निधानात् निपातस्य विशेष्यान्तरव्यवच्छेदः । तथा विशेषणसन्निधानादवधारणस्य चैत्रो धनुर्द्धर एवेति गुणान्तरव्यवच्छेदः स्यादित्याह ।

प्रतियोगिव्यवच्छेदस्तत्राप्यर्थेषु गम्यते ।

तथा प्रसिद्धेः सामर्थ्याद् विवक्षानुगमाद् ध्वनेः ॥१९३॥

तत्र विशेषणादिव्यवच्छेदेऽपि क्रियमाणे प्रकरणाद् बुद्धिविषयीकृतस्य प्रतियोगिन एव व्यवच्छेदो विशेषणेन गम्यते नान्यस्य । तथा प्रसिद्धेः प्रतियोगिन

एव बुद्धिस्थीकृत्य विशेषणे^४न व्यवच्छेदो नेतरस्येति लोकप्रसिद्धेः। विवक्षाया अनुगमात् ध्वनेर्व्यवच्छेदादौ सामर्थ्यान्नाविवक्षितव्यवच्छेदः। यत एवायोगव्यवच्छेदोप्यस्ति (१)

तदयोगव्यवच्छेदाद् धर्मो धर्मविशेषणम्।

तद्विशिष्टतया धर्मो न निरन्वयदोषभाक् ॥१९४॥

तत् तस्माद् धर्मो पक्षो धर्मस्यायोगव्यवच्छेदाद् विशेषणं धर्मिणो नाधर्मो^१ हेतुरित्यर्थः। अयोगव्यवच्छेदात् तेन धर्मिणा विशिष्टतया धर्मो निरन्वयदोषभाग न भवति।

सपक्षे घटादौ सन् शब्दानित्यत्वे साध्ये^२ कृतकत्वं हेतुः। असन् सपक्षे व्योमादौ शब्दानित्यत्वे साध्ये कृतकत्वं हेतुः। सपक्षे द्वेधा। सन्नसँश्च (१) शब्दानित्यत्वे साध्ये यत्नजत्वं हेतुः। घटादौ सपक्षे सन् विद्युदादौ चासन्। पुनस्त्रिधा (१) सपक्षे सन् असन् सदसँश्च (१) शब्दस्य यत्नजत्वे साध्ये सपक्षे घटादावनित्यत्वं हेतुः सन्। शब्दानित्यत्वे साध्ये यत्नजत्वं हेतुरसन् विद्युदादौ सपक्षे॥ शब्दे-
ऽयत्नजत्वे साध्येऽनित्यत्वं हेतुः सपक्षे विद्युदादौ सन्। व्योमादौ चासन्। एवं प्रत्येकमसपक्षेपि सन् असन् द्वेधा चेति योज्यं। शब्दनित्यत्वे साध्ये प्रमेयत्वं हेतुः (१) असपक्षे घटादौ सन् (१) शब्दनित्यत्वे साध्ये श्रावणत्वं हेतुरसपक्षेऽसन् शब्द-
नित्यत्वे साध्येऽस्पर्शवत्त्वं हेतुरसपक्षे घटादावसन् (१) बुद्ध्यादौ सन्निति द्विधा

१४८८ पक्षधर्मनिर्देशः। किमर्थं हेतुप्रकरणे नवधा पक्षधर्मनिर्देशः।

(२) हेतुभेदाः

सम्यग्हेतुरसिद्धविरुद्धानैकान्तिकहेत्वाभासा एव युक्तनिर्देशा इत्याह।

स्वभावकार्यसिद्ध्यर्थं द्वौ द्वौ हेतुविपर्ययौ।

विवादाद् भेदसामान्ये शेषो व्यावृत्तिसाधनः ॥१९५॥

स्वभावकार्ययोरेव हेतुत्वेन सिद्धचर्थं तत्र द्वौ शब्देऽनित्यत्वसिद्धचर्थं कृतकत्व-
प्रयत्नानन्तरीयकत्वाख्यौ हेतू निर्दिष्टौ। तथा शब्द एव नित्यत्वसाधने द्वौ हेतु-
विपर्ययौ विरुद्धौ हेतुभावे चोक्तौ। यथा हि सम्यग्हेतोः स्वसाध्ये व्याप्यकार्य-
तया प्रतिबद्धस्य गमकत्वं। तथा साध्यविपर्यये व्याप्यकार्यतया प्रतिबद्धस्यैव

तद्गमकत्वेन विरुद्धता नान्यस्येत्यर्थः । व्यतिरेकी^१ अन्वयी च हेतुरिति परेषां विवादात् तत्प्रतिषेधार्थं भेदसामान्येऽसाधारणसाधारणे श्रावणत्वप्रमेयत्वे निहिष्टे । यदि विपक्षे नास्तीति सात्मकत्वे साध्ये प्राणादिमत्त्वं हेतुस्तदा श्रावणत्वमपि स्यात् । न चैवं (१) तस्मान्न व्यतिरेकी हेतुः । यदि च केवलान्वयिनो दर्शनमात्राध्यवसिता-व्यभिचा^२रस्य हेतुत्वं तदा प्रमेयत्वस्याकाशादौ दर्शनादव्यभिचारनिश्चये सति शब्दे नित्यत्वगमकत्वं स्यान्न चैवं । ततो न केवलान्वयी हेतुः । शेषोऽप्रयत्नोत्थः शब्दोऽनित्यत्वात् । नित्यः शब्दोऽस्पर्शवत्त्वात् । प्रयत्नानन्तरीयः शब्दोऽनित्यत्वादिति हेतुत्रयं विपक्षाद्धेतोर्व्यवृत्तिसाधनः ।

यदि हि सपक्षे दर्शनमात्रेण गमकत्वं तदैते हेतवः प्राप्ताः (१) सर्वेषां सपक्षे सत्वात्^३ (१) तस्मान्नान्वयसम्बन्धमात्रेण गमकत्वं (१) किन्तु विपक्षाद् व्यतिरेक-निश्चये न चास्ति व्यतिरेकनिश्चयः (१) प्रधानं हेतुत्वनिबन्धनमित्यर्थः । कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते स्वभावहेतुः कृतकत्वं । कार्यहेतुः प्रयत्नानन्तरीयकमित्याह ।

न हि स्वभावादन्त्येन व्याप्तिर्गम्यस्य कारणे ।

सम्भवाद् व्यभिचारस्य द्विधावृत्तिफलं ततः ॥१९६॥

न हि स्वभावाद्धेतोरन्त्येन हेतुना गम्यस्य साध्यस्य व्याप्तिः । यत्र यत्रा-नित्यत्वं तत्र कृतकत्वमिति दृश्यते च व्याप्तिः (१) तस्मात् स्वभावहेतुरेव^३ । नावश्यं कारणानि कार्यवन्ति भवन्तीति कारणे कार्य^४स्य व्यभिचारसम्भवात् । कार्यं कारणव्यापकं न भवति ।^३ तत्र सपक्षे द्विधावृत्तिभावाभावात् प्रयत्ना^५नन्तरी-यत्वं फलं कार्यहेतुः^४ प्रयत्नकार्यस्य तथाभिधानात् ।

ननु प्रयत्नजेन ज्ञानेनानित्यः शब्दोऽनुमेय इष्टः (१) शब्दाश्च नित्या एव तद्विषयज्ञानोत्पादादिना यत्नेन ते व्यज्यन्ते (१) तत्कथं कार्यहेतूदाहरणमिदमित्याह ।

प्रयत्नानन्तरं ज्ञानं प्राक्सतो नियमेन न ।

तस्यावृत्त्यक्षरशब्देषु सर्वथाऽनुपयोगतः ॥१९७॥

प्रयत्नात् प्राक् सतः शब्दस्य नियमेन प्रयत्नानन्तरं ज्ञानं^५ न युज्यते । प्रयत्नं विनापि कदाचिदुपलभ्येत । न च प्रयत्नव्यज्यता शब्दानां युक्ता । तस्य प्रयत्नस्य

^१ नैयायिकस्य । ^२ कारणेपि व्याप्तिः स्यादित्याह । ^३ स्वभावहेतौ ।

^४ शब्दोच्चारणप्रयत्नानन्तरजं शब्दालम्बनं ज्ञानं ।

^५ भवार्थे गृहादित्वाच्छः प्रयत्नानन्तरीयकत्वं घटादौ सत् विद्युदादौ चासदिति सपक्षे द्विधावृत्तिर्यतः ।

आवृतावुपलम्भावरणे शब्दविषयज्ञानजनके श्रोत्रे शब्देषु च विषयेषु सर्व्वथा-
ऽकिञ्चित्करत्वेनानुपयोगत इत्युक्तं प्राक्^१ ।

किञ्च (१)

कदाचिन्निरपेक्षस्य कार्याऽकृतिविरोधतः ।

कादाचित्कफलं सिद्धं तल्लिङ्गं ज्ञानमीदृशम् ॥१९८॥

सहकारिभिरनाधेयातिशयत्वन्नित्यस्य कदाचित् प्रयत्नकाले कार्यस्य ज्ञानस्य-
(१) कृतिविरोधतः कारणात् तच्छ्रुतिविषयं ज्ञानं कादाचित्कस्यानित्यस्य शब्दस्य^१
फलं लिङ्गं कार्यमीदृशं नियमेन प्रयत्नानन्तरभावि सिद्धम् ॥ (१९८)

(३) कार्यस्वभावहेत्वोर्निर्देशस्य फलम्

एतावतैव सिद्धेऽपि स्वभावस्य पृथक् कृतिः ।

कार्येण सह निर्देशे मा ज्ञासीत् सर्व्वमीदृशम् ॥१९९॥

एतावता प्रयत्नानन्तरीयकत्वेनैव स्वभावहेतुनिर्देशेऽपि सिद्धे प्रयत्नानन्तर-
मुत्पादस्याभिव्यक्तेश्च तथाभिधानात् तथापि स्वभावस्य कृतकत्वस्य हेतोर्मा
पृथक्कृतिः सा कार्येण सह श्लेषेण निर्देशे मा ज्ञासीत् प्रतिपत्ता सर्व्व स्वभावहेतुमी-
९९^a दृशं सपक्षे द्विधावृत्ति कृतकत्वादेः^२ विपर्ययव्याप्तिसम्भवात् ॥ (१९९)

किञ्च (१)

व्युत्पत्त्यर्था च हेतूक्तिरुक्तार्थानुमितौ कृता ।

अत्र प्रभेद आख्यातः लक्षणान्तु न भिद्यते ॥२००॥

अनुमितौ स्वार्थानुमाने हेतूक्तिरुक्तार्थाऽभिहितलक्षणापि प्रतिपत्तूणां व्युत्प-
त्त्यर्था च परार्थानुमाने कृता । अत्र च प्रभेद आख्यातः । लक्षणं पुनर्हेतोर्न भिद्यते ।^३
तथाविधलक्षणहेतुवचनस्य परार्थानुमानत्वात् ॥ (२००)

तेनात्र कार्यलिङ्गेन स्वभावोप्येकदेशभाक् ।

सदृशोदाहृतिश्चातः प्रयत्नाद् व्यक्तिजन्मनः ॥२०१॥

तेन प्रयत्नान्तरीयकत्वेन कार्यलिङ्गेन श्लेषनिर्देशात् । स्वभावहेतुधर्म-
भाजा स्वभावोऽपि सपक्षैकदेशभाक् भवति इत्युक्तो भवति । अत एव कार्य-

^१ श्रुतिपरीक्षायां ।

^२ स्वार्थानुमानोक्तात् ।

स्वभावतया सदृशस्य प्रयत्नान्तरीयकत्वस्योदाहृतिराचार्येण कृता । प्रयत्नाद्^१ व्यक्तेर्जन्मनश्च भावात् । यदा प्रयत्नाद् व्यक्तिस्तदा कार्यहेतुः । यदा जन्म^२ तदा स्वभावहेतुः । (२०१)

कार्यस्वभावयोः प्रभेदनिर्देशस्य किं फलमित्याह ।

यन्मान्तरीयका सत्ता यो वात्मन्यविभागवान् ।

स तेनाव्यभिचारी स्यादित्यर्थं तत्प्रभेदनम् ॥२०२॥

यन्मान्तरीयका सत्ता भेदे सति यमन्तरेण हेतु^३र्न भवति । यो वा स्व आत्मीयः^४ साध्यादविभागवान् (१)^५ आत्मा स्वभावः स^२ तेन कारणेन व्यापकेन वाऽव्यभिचारी व्यभिचाररहितः स्यात् नान्य इत्यर्थमेतत् प्रयोजनं (१) तयोः कार्यस्वभावयोः प्रभेदनं । (२०२)

एवञ्च सति (१)

संयोग्यादिषु येष्वस्ति प्रतिबन्धो न तादृशः ।

न ते हेतव इत्युक्तं व्यभिचारस्य सम्भवात् ॥२०३॥

संयोगि^६समवायि एकार्थसमवायि आकाशादिषु पराभिमतेषु हेतुषु येषु प्रतिबन्धः तादृशस्तादात्म्यतदुत्पत्तिलक्षणो नास्ति (१) न ते हेतव इत्युक्तं भवति । अतदात्मनोऽतदुत्पत्तेश्च साध्यव्यभिचारस्य सम्भवात् । (२०३)

अथ संयोग्यादिषु तदुत्पत्तिप्रतिबन्धोस्ति तदा (१)

सति वा प्रतिबन्धेस्तु स एव गतिसाधनः ।

नियमो ह्यविनाभावोऽनियतश्च न साधनम् ॥२०४॥

सति प्रतिबन्धे^७ स एव गतिसाधनः साध्यप्रतिपत्तिहेतुरस्तु निष्फला संयोग्यादिकल्पना (१) नियमो नियतत्वं हि साधनस्य साक्षादविनाभाव उच्यते (१) स च तादात्म्यतदुत्पत्तिभ्यां नान्यथा (१) स च तद्विकलत्वात् साध्येऽनियतः । न स साधनं । यथा संयोगित्वेपि स वल्लिर्द्धूमस्येति “स्वभावकार्यसिद्धयर्थं द्वौ द्वौ हेतुविपर्ययावि”ति व्याख्यातं । (२०४)

^१ उपलब्धेः कार्यत्वं ज्ञानत्वात् । उत्पत्तेः स्वभावत्वं शब्दरूपत्वात् ज्ञानस्य ।

^२ शब्दस्य ।

^३ कार्यहेतुः ।

^४ स्वभावः ।

^५ हेत्वन्तरानपेक्षत्वार्थं ।

^६ वैशेषिकादिकल्पिताः ।

(४) विवादाद् भेदसामान्य इत्यस्य व्याख्यानम्

विवादाद् भेदसामान्य इति व्याख्यात^१व्यं ।

स्यात् प्राणादिमत्त्वं हेतुर्यदि विपक्षाद्धेतुव्यतिरेकः स्यात् (१) स एव तु न सिध्यतीत्याह ।

ऐकान्तिकत्वं व्यावृत्तेरविनाभाव उच्यते ।

तच्च नाप्रतिबद्धेषु तत एवान्वयस्थितिः ॥२०५॥

विपक्षाद्भेदो व्यावृत्तेर्बाधकप्रमाणनिश्चितत्वात् । ऐकान्तिकत्वमविनाभाव उच्यते (१) तच्च व्यावृत्तेरैकान्तिकत्वं स्वसाध्याप्रतिबद्धेषु प्राणादिषु नास्ति । यदि ह्यात्मनि प्रतिबद्धाः प्राणादयः तदात्मनिवृत्तौ निवृत्ता विपक्षाद् गम्येरन् (१) अन्यथा तु पक्ष एव सन्देहः (१) किममी आत्माभावेऽपि वर्तन्ते^२ उत नेति (१) यथा च प्रतिबन्धाद् व्यतिरेकनिश्चयः । तथा ततः प्रतिबन्धादेवान्वयस्य स्थितिः । न तु सहदर्शनमात्रेण । (२०५)

तस्मात् साध्यस्य (१)

स्वात्मत्वे हेतुभावे वा सिद्धे हि व्यतिरेकिता ।

सिध्येदतो विशेषे न व्यतिरेको न चान्वयः ॥२०६॥

स्वात्मत्वे हेतुस्वभावात्मकत्वे हेतुभावे वा सिद्धे सति (तदभावे नियमेन व्यतिरेकात्) विपक्षाद् व्यापककारणव्यतिरेके स्वभावकार्यहेत्वोर्व्यतिरेकिता सिध्येत् । नान्यथेति न्याय एषः । यतः प्रतिबन्धेनैवान्वयव्यतिरेकसिद्धिः । अतो विशेषेऽसाधारणे हेतौ नान्वयो न वा^३ व्यतिरेकः सिध्यति ॥ (२०६)

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एवं तर्हि सपक्षविपक्षव्यतिरेकाभ्यां व्यावृत्तेर्विशेषः कथं मा चार्येणोक्तः इत्याह ।

अदृष्टिमात्रमादाय केवलं व्यतिरेकिता ।

उक्ताऽनैकान्तिकस्तस्मादन्यथा गमको भवेत् ॥२०७॥

अदृष्टिमात्रं बाधकप्रमाणरहितमादाय पराभिप्रायेण सपक्षाद् व्यतिरेकि-
तोक्ता । तस्यादर्शनमात्रेण व्यतिरेकानिश्चयादनैकान्तिक आचार्येणोक्तः ।
अन्यथा विपक्षाद् व्यतिरेकनिश्चये गमको हेतुर्भवेत् । ततश्चानैकान्तिकवर्गे न
प्रक्षिप्येत । (२०७)

(५) साध्याभावस्य साधनाभावेन न व्याप्तता

क. जीवच्छरीरं प्राणादिमत्त्वादित्यत्र दोषः

ननु साध्यनिवृत्तौ^१ नियमेन साधनं^२ निवर्तत इति साध्याभावः साधनाभावेन व्याप्तः। ततश्च (१)

प्राणाद्यभावो नैरात्म्यव्यापीति विनिवर्त्तने।

आत्मनो विनिवर्त्तत प्राणादिर्यदि तच्च न ॥२०८॥

प्राणादेः साधनस्याभावो नैरात्म्यस्य सात्मकत्वसाध्याभावस्य व्यापीति हेतोरात्मनो घटादेर्विपक्षाद् विनिवर्त्तने सति प्राणादेर्विनिवर्त्तते। न ह्यन्यथा साधनाभावः साध्याभावस्य च व्यापको भवति। ततो यत्र प्राणादिभावनिवृत्तिस्तत्र सात्मकत्वभावनिवृत्तिरपीति यद्युच्यते तच्च न युक्तं। (२०८)

अन्यस्य विनिवृत्त्यान्यविनिवृत्तेरयोगतः।

तदात्मा तत्प्रसूतिश्चेन्नैतत्;

अन्यस्य कारणस्यात्मनो विनिवृत्त्या प्राणादेर्विनिवृत्तेरयोगतः। तादात्म्य-तदुत्पत्तावेव हि साध्यनिवृत्तौ साधननिवृत्तिर्युक्ता तत्स्वभावत्वात् तदायत्तत्वाच्च। सति च साध्यसाधनयोनियमेन निवर्त्यनिवर्त्तकभावे साध्याभावः साधनाभावेन व्याप्यते। प्राणादिस्तस्यात्मन आत्मा स्वभावः। तस्मात् प्रसूतिर्वास्येति चेत्। नैतदस्ति युक्तं^३। तथा हि (१)

आत्मोपलम्भने ॥२०९॥

तस्योपलब्धावगतावगतौ च प्रसिध्यति।

ते चात्यन्तपरोक्षस्य दृष्ट्यदृष्टौ न सिध्यतः ॥२१०॥

आत्मन उपलम्भने सति तस्य प्राणादेरुपलब्धौ^३ सत्यामात्मनोऽगतावगतावगतौ च सत्यां कार्यकारणभावः प्रसिध्यति। ते च दृष्ट्यदृष्टौ कार्यकारण-भावसाधनेऽत्यन्तपरोक्षस्यात्मनो न सिध्यतः। अत्यन्तपरोक्षस्य कथमदृष्टिरपि न सिध्यतीति चेत्। अभावसाधिका दृश्यानुपलब्धिर्न सिध्यत्येव। अदृष्टिमात्रन्तु नाभावसाधकं। ततः प्राणादेरात्मना सह प्रतिबन्धासिद्धेर्नात्मनिवृत्त्या प्राणा-दिनिवृत्तिसिद्धिः। (२०९, २१०)

किञ्च^४ (१)

^१ तादात्म्यनिवृत्तिः।

^२ न चेष्टं परस्य केवलमेतावानेव प्रतिबन्धे इत्युपन्यासः।

अन्यत्रादृष्टरूपस्य घटादौ नेति वा कुतः ।

अज्ञातव्यतिरेकस्य व्यावृत्तेर्व्यापिता कुतः ॥२११॥

आत्मनोन्यत्र जीवच्छरीरेऽदृष्टरूपस्य घटादौ न सत्त्वमिति यदुच्यते तत्कुतः सिद्धं । दृश्यानुपलब्ध्या ह्यभावसिद्धिः । न चादृष्टचरे तत्सम्भवः । अज्ञातो व्यतिरेकोऽभावो यस्य तस्यात्मनो या व्यावृत्तिर्घटादौ तस्याः प्राणादिनिवृत्त्या व्यापिता व्यापनं कुतः सम्भवि । येन जीवच्छरीरे प्राणादिनिवृत्त्यभावात् सात्म-
कत्वनिवृत्त्यभावे सत्यात्मसिद्धिः स्यात् ॥ (२११)

ननु यथा घटादौ प्राणाद्यभावनिश्चयस्तथात्माभावनिश्चयोपि किं न भव-
तीत्याह ।

प्राणादेश्च क्वचिद् दृष्ट्या सत्त्वासत्त्वं प्रतीयते ।

तथात्मा यदि दृश्येत सत्त्वासत्त्वं प्रतीयते ॥२१२॥

प्राणादेः क्वचिज्जीवच्छरीरे दृष्ट्या सत्त्वं प्रतीयते । मृतदेहे चोपलब्धिलक्षण-
प्राप्तस्यास्यादृष्ट्याऽसत्त्वं प्रतीयते । तथा यदि क्वचिद् देहे आत्मा दृश्येत तदा
तत्र सत्त्वमस्य प्रतीयेत । अन्यत्रोपलब्धस्वरूपस्यास्यानुपलब्धेरसत्त्वं प्रतीयेत । न
चात्मोपलब्धिर्नास्ति क्वचिदिति न तदभावनिश्चयः । (२१२)

यदप्युच्यते (१) यदि^१ न सात्मकं जीवच्छरीरं तदास्य प्राणादिविरहप्रसङ्गो
नरात्म्याद् घटवदिति प्रसङ्गसाधनं । तच्चायुक्तं दर्शयितुमाह ।

यस्य हेतोरभावेन घटे प्राणो न दृश्यते ।

देहेपि यद्यसौ न स्याद् युक्तो देहे न सम्भवः ॥२१३॥

यस्य बुद्धिदेहातिशयप्रयत्नादेर्हेतोरभावेन घटे प्राणो न दृश्यते (१) देहेपि
यद्यसौ बुद्धिदेहातिशयप्रयत्नादिर्न स्यात् (१) तदा देहेपि हेतुविरहात् प्राणादेर्न^१
संभवो युक्तो यथा मृतशरीरे । जीवदेहे तु बुद्ध्यादिसद्भावादेव^२ प्राणादिरुचित-
संभव इति नात्माभावे तदभावप्रसङ्गः सङ्गतः । (२१३)

अथ घटजीवच्छरीरादीनां नैरात्म्येन यथा साधर्म्यं तथा प्राणादिरहिततयापि
स्यात् । न च भवति (१) तस्मान्निरात्मके घटादौ प्राणादिरदृष्टो यत्र वर्तते तत्र
सात्मकत्वं साधयतीत्याह ।

भिन्नेपि किञ्चित् साधर्म्याद् यदि तत्त्वं प्रतीयते ।

प्रमेयत्वाद् घटादीनां सात्मत्वं किन्न मीयते ॥२१४॥

घटभिन्नेपि जीवदेहे किञ्चिन्मात्रेण निरात्मकत्वेन साधर्म्यात् यदि तत्त्वं प्राणादिविरहिततया घटसदृशत्वं प्रतीयते तदा^१ प्रमेयत्वाद्धेतोर्घटादीनां जीवच्छरीर-सात्मकत्वं किञ्च मीयते (१२१४)

अनिष्टेऽत्रेत् प्रमाणं हि सर्वेष्टीनां निबन्धनम् ।

भावाभावव्यवस्थां कः ? कर्तुं तेन विना प्रभुः ॥२१५॥

अनिष्टेऽत्रेत् (१) ननु प्रमाणं हि सर्वेष्टीनां निबन्धनं । तद्वशेनार्थान्न स्थितेः । तेन प्रमाणेन विना भावाभावयोर्व्यवस्थां कर्तुं कः प्रभुः । यदि च किञ्चित् साधर्म्यमात्रात् साधनं साध्यसाधकं । तदा प्रमेयत्वाद् घटस्यापि सात्मकत्वसाध-नादनिष्टिरनुपयुक्ता । (२१५)

ख. स्मृतीच्छादयः प्राणादिहेतुः

यदि तर्हि नात्मा प्राणादेर्हेतुः (१) कस्तर्हि भविष्यतीत्याह । यथा^२ योगं (१)

स्मृतीच्छायत्नजः प्राणनिमेषादिस्तदुद्भवः ।

विषयेन्द्रियचित्तेभ्यः ;

स्मृतीच्छाप्रयत्ने^१भ्यो जातः प्राणनिमेषादिः समाहितस्य निरुद्धवायोः समाधि-व्युत्थितस्य स्मरणात् प्राणवृत्तिर्गाढप्रहारादिभिव्याहृतप्राणस्य इच्छाप्रयत्नाभ्यां प्राणप्रवृत्तिः । स्वस्थस्य साद्गुण्यात्^२ निमेषादेरिच्छाप्रयत्नजत्वं व्यक्तं । तेषां च स्मृतीच्छायत्नानामुद्भवो विषयेन्द्रियचित्तेभ्यो यथा^३योगं (१) क्वचिद् विषयाद् वदरादे रसनास्रवादिहेतो रसादि^४स्मृतिर्भवति । इन्द्रियाद्वा विलादेरपटुजानहेतोः प्रदीपमण्डलादिस्मरणं भवति बुद्धेरेवातद्विषयस्यातीतानुकूलतादिस्मृतिरुद्भवति ।

ननु षट् प्रवृत्तिबुद्ध्य एवात्मजाः प्रवृत्तिबुद्धिजाश्च स्मृत्यादयः । तद्भवाश्च प्राणादयः इति परंपराज्महेतुका एवेत्याह । ताः षड्बुद्ध्यः (१)

ताः स्वजातिसमुद्भवाः ॥२१६॥

अन्योन्यप्रत्ययापेक्षा अन्वयव्यतिरेकभाक् ।

एतावत्यात्मभावोयमनवस्थान्यकल्पने ॥२१७॥

^१ प्राणवायोः प्रेरकोऽन्तर्व्यापारः प्रयत्नः । ^२ किञ्चित् पश्यतोऽक्षान्तर-प्रस्फुरणे शरीरसाद्गुण्यबुद्धिप्रयत्नादयः प्राणादिषु ।

^३ स्मृतिरनुभवात् तत् इन्द्रियविकारस्फुरणे । अनुभूतस्मृत्या स्फुरणं नाना-स्वः । मातुलुङ्गदर्शने ।

अन्योन्यप्रत्ययापेक्षा यस्या य आत्मीयः प्रत्ययः सहकारिकारणं^१ इन्द्रियादि तस्मिन्नपेक्षाज्यत्तिर्यासां तास्तथा सत्यः स्वजातिसमुद्भवाः समनन्तरप्रभवा न तु परंपरयाप्यात्मापेक्षिण्य इत्यर्थः। एतावति कारणकलापेऽयमात्मभावः षडायतनं गृहीतोऽन्वयव्यतिरेकभाक् प्रतिबद्धः कारणत्वेन ततोन्मस्य^१ कल्पनेऽनवस्था कारणा-
नां। तस्मान्नादृष्टसामर्थ्यस्यात्मनो निवृत्तौ प्राणा^२दिनिवृत्तिर्युक्ता ॥ (२१६, २१७)

किञ्च (१)

श्रावणत्वेन तत् तुल्यं प्राणादि व्यभिचारतः।

न तस्य व्यभिचारित्वाद् व्यतिरेकेपि चेत् कथम् ॥२१८॥

तत् प्राणादिसाधनं श्रावणत्वेन हेतुना व्यभिचारतोऽनैकान्तिकत्वात्^३ तुल्यं।
नैत^३दस्ति। तस्य श्रावणत्वस्य विपक्षाद् बहुलं व्यतिरेकेपि व्यतिरेकस्य व्यभि-
चारतः। न हि श्राव(ण)त्वमनित्येभ्यः प्रायो व्यावृत्तमित्यनित्यत्वव्यतिरेकाव्यभि-
चारि शक्यमवसातुं।^४ पक्ष एवानित्येन सहाकार्यविरोधात्। प्राणादि तु नियमेन
विपक्षाद् व्यतिरेकाव्यभिचारीति न युक्तं^५ श्रावणत्वेन तुल्यमिति चेत्। पृच्छ-
त्या चार्यः। प्राणादिश्रावणत्वेनातुल्यं कथमिति। (२१८)

इतर आह।

नासाध्यादेव विश्लेषस्तस्य नन्वेवमुच्यते।

साध्येनुवृत्त्यभावोर्थात् तस्यान्यत्राप्यसौ समः ॥२१९॥

तस्य श्रावणत्वस्यासाध्याद् विपक्षादेव न विश्लेषो व्यावृत्तिः किन्तु सपक्षादपि।
प्राणादेस्तु सर्वस्य जीवच्छरीरस्य सात्मत्वेन साध्यत्वात् (१) सपक्ष एव नास्तीति
कथन्ततो व्यावृत्तिरिति (१) अत्राह। नन्वेवमसाध्यादेव श्रावणत्वस्य न विश्लेष
100b इत्याख्यानं^७ साध्ये साध्यवति सपक्षेऽनुवृत्तेरन्वयस्याभावोर्थादुक्तः स्यात्। यो हि
विपक्षमात्रादव्यावृत्तः स सपक्षादपि व्यावृत्तेरन्वयरहित उक्तो भवति। तथा च
प्राणादेरसौ सपक्षानुवृत्त्यभावः समः। न हि प्राणादिसपक्षे क्वचित् सिद्धं। सर्वस्य
जीवच्छरीरस्य पक्षत्वात्। (२१९)

असाध्यादेव विच्छेद इति साध्येस्तितोच्यते।

अर्थापत्याऽत एवोक्तमेकेनोभयदर्शनम् ॥२२०॥

^१ आत्मादेः। ^२ उभयत्र व्यतिरेकव्यभिचारस्य तुल्यत्वात्। ^३ परः।

^४ यद्यपि कुड्यादेरनित्याद् व्यावृत्तः सपक्षाकाशात् तथापि व्यभिचारो-
च्छटादिशब्देऽनित्यत्वादिति।

असाध्याद् विपक्षादेव साधनस्य विच्छेदो व्यावृत्तिरित्यभिधानेनार्थापत्त्य-
सामर्थ्येन साध्ये सपक्षेऽस्तितोच्यते। यदि तु ^१ सपक्षादपि व्यावृत्तिस्तदा विपक्षा-
देव व्यावृत्तिरित्यसङ्गतं। यतो विपक्षादेव व्यावृत्तिरिति व्यतिरेक आक्षिप्तान्वय
एव भवति। अत एवाचार्येण एकेन व्यतिरेकेणान्वयेन वा नियमवता दृष्टेनोभय-
दर्शनमुक्तं। अर्थापत्त्याऽन्यतरेणोभयदर्शनादिति। (२२०)

यस्मादैकान्तिको व्यतिरेक आक्षिप्तान्वय एव भवति। अतः (१)

ईदृगव्यभिचारोतोऽनन्वयिषु न सिध्यति।

प्रतिषेधनिषेधश्च विधानात् कीदृशोऽपरः ॥२२१॥

ईदृग् विपक्षे व्यतिरेको (ऽ) व्यभिचारः अनन्वयिषु हेतुषु न सिध्यति। य
एव^२ साध्येनान्वितो हेतुस्तस्यैव विपक्षादेव व्यतिरेकः। यदि तु सत्यपि साध्ये
हेत्वभावस्तदा सपक्षादपि व्यतिरेकात् कथं विपक्षादेव निवृत्तिः। किञ्च (१)
प्राणादेः सपक्षे प्रतिषेधस्य निवृत्ते^१ निषेधो विधानादपरः कीदृशः। प्रतिषेधनिषेधो
हि विधिरेव परस्परपरिहारेणावस्थितेः। ततः प्राणादेः सपक्षान्निवृत्तिर्नास्तीत्य-
र्थाद् वृत्तिरेवोक्ता स्यादिति न व्यतिरेकित्वं। (२२१)

स्यादेवं यदि सपक्षो^३ भवति। किन्तु (१)

निवृत्तिर्नास्तः साध्यादसाध्येष्वेव नो ततः।

नेति सैव निवृत्तिः किं निवृत्तेरसतो मता ॥२२२॥

सात्मकत्वे साध्ये सपक्षो नास्तीत्यसतः साध्यात् सपक्षात् प्राणादेर्निवृत्तिर्नास्ति
ततोऽसाध्येषु विपक्षेष्वेव नो वृत्तिरिति व्यतिरेकित्वमिष्टं। एवन्तर्हि सपक्षादसतो
हेतोर्निवृत्तेर्निवृत्तिरस्माकं अस्तित्वेन येषां सैव किञ्चे^२ति भवतो मता। यदि
ह्यसन् निवृत्तेर्नाधिकरणं तदा निवृत्तिर्निवृत्तेः कथं भविष्यति। (२२२)

किञ्च (१)

निवृत्त्यभावस्तु विधिर्वस्तुभावोऽसतोपि सन्।

वस्त्वभावस्तु नास्तीति पश्य बान्ध्यविजृम्भितम् ॥२२३॥

असतोपि सपक्षाद्धेतुनिवृत्तेर्निरूपाया अ^४भावस्तु विधिर्वस्तुभावो हेतुसम्भवः
स नेष्यते (१) यद्यसति सपक्षे हेतुनिवृत्तिर्नास्ति तदा हेतुरेवास्तीत्युक्तं स्यात्।

^१ प्रतिषेधव्याख्या (१) प्राणादेः सपक्षेऽभावो नास्तीति।

^२ कस्मात्।

वस्तुनो हेतोरभावस्तु निवृत्तिशब्दवाच्यो नास्तीति पश्य बान्ध्यविजृम्भितं परेषां ।
असत्यसत्त्वमविरुद्धं । विरुद्धन्तु सत्त्वमित्यर्थः । (२२३)

अपि च (१)

निवृत्तिर्यदि तस्मिन्न हेतोर्वृत्तिः किमिष्यते ।

सापि न प्रतिषेधोऽयं निवृत्तिः किं निषिध्यते ॥२२४॥

हेतोस्तस्मिन्नसति सपक्षे निवृत्तिर्यदि नास्ति तदा किं वृत्तिरिष्यते विधि-
निषेधयोरन्योन्यव्यवच्छेदा^१त्मत्वादेकप्रतिषेधस्य तदपरविधिनान्तरीयकत्वात् । तत-
श्चान्वयव्यतिरेकित्वात् प्राणादिर्न व्यतिरेकी । सा वृत्तिरपि नासति सपक्ष इति
चेत् । ननु वृत्तिनिषेधः प्रतिषेधोऽयं निवृत्त्यात्मकः । ततश्चासतो वृत्तिनिवृत्तेरधि-
करणत्वात् । तस्मिन्निवृत्तिः किं निषिध्यते । सत्याञ्च निवृत्तौ श्रावणत्ववदसाधा-
रणं प्राणादि स्यात् । (२२४)

ग. शाब्दो व्यवहारो विधिप्रतिषेधप्रयोजनः

अथाधिकरणतयाऽप्यादानतया वा सतः^६ प्रतीतिर्नास्तीति न तस्मान्निवृत्ति-
रित्युच्यते । एतदर्थं हि (१)

विधानं प्रतिषेधञ्च मुक्त्वा शाब्दोऽस्ति नापरः ।

व्यवहारः स चासत्सु नेति प्राप्तान्न मूकता ॥२२५॥

विधानं प्रतिषेधञ्च मुक्त्वाऽपरः श(१)ब्दो व्यवहारो नास्ति तयोरेव शब्द-
प्रतिपाद्यत्वात् । स च विधिप्रतिषेधव्यवहारोऽसत्सु नास्तीति । अत्रासत्सु मूकतैव
प्राप्ता । तथा ह्यसति विधिव्यवहारस्तावन्नास्त्येव । प्रतिषेधोऽपि त्वन्मते नास्तीति
युक्तं मूकत्वं । (२२५)

किञ्च (१)

सताञ्च न निषेधोऽस्ति सोऽसत्सु च न विद्यते ।

जगत्यनेन न्यायेन नञर्थः प्रलयं गतः ॥२२६॥

सताञ्च पदार्थानां न निषेधोऽस्ति विद्यमानत्वात् । स प्रतिषेधोऽसत्सु^७ न
त्वदभिप्रायाद् विद्यते । अनेन न्यायेन नञर्थः प्रतिषेधो जगति विषये प्रलयं
गतः । (२२६)

॥१०१२

देशकालनिषेधश्चेद् यथास्ति स निषिध्यते ।

न तथा न यथा सोऽस्ति तथापि न निषिध्यते ॥२२७॥

वचित् सतामेवार्थानामन्ययोर्देशकालयोर्नञादिना निषेध इष्टश्चेत् । यथा

यद्देशकालसम्बद्धत्वेन सोऽर्थो नास्ति तथा निषिध्यते त्वदभिप्रायादतो निषेधायो-
गात् । यथा चास्ति स तथापि न निषिध्यते सत्वात् । (२२७)

तस्मादाश्रित्य शब्दार्थ भवाभावसमाश्रयम् ।

अबाह्याश्रयमत्रेष्टं सर्वं विधिनिषेधनम् ॥२२८॥

तस्माच्छब्दस्यार्थमारोपितवहीरूपमन्यव्यवच्छेदमबाह्याश्रयं बाह्यविषयरहितं
य एव भावाभावयोर्विधिप्रतिषेधविकल्पप्रतिपाद्ययोः समाश्रयस्तमाश्रित्य व्यवहारे
सर्वं विधिनिषेध^१नमिष्टं । (२२८)

यदि वस्तु शब्दविकल्पाभ्यां विषयीक्रियते सर्व्वथा प्रतीतेः शब्दप्रमाणान्तर-
वैफल्यप्रसङ्गः । ततोऽन्यापोह एव विधिनिषेधसम्बन्धयोर्विषयः । तथा शब्दात्
सत्त्वासत्त्वाभ्यां वस्तुनः प्रतीतौ विधिनिषेधयोरवैफल्यप्रसङ्गः । तस्मात्^२ भावाभाव-
साधारणोऽन्यव्यवच्छेदो विधिप्रतिषेधाभ्यां सम्बध्यत इति ।

ताभ्यां स धर्मी सम्बद्धः ख्यात्यभावेपि तादृशः ।

शब्दप्रवृत्तरेस्तीति सोपीष्टो व्यवहारभाक् ॥२२९॥

ताभ्यां विधिप्रतिषेधाभ्यां स शब्दार्थो धर्मी सम्बद्धः ख्यातिवस्तुतोऽभावेपि
तादृशो विधिप्रतिषेधसम्बद्ध^३स्यार्थस्य (१) न हि शब्दार्थ एव कश्चित् बाह्या-
बाह्यार्थयो^४रयोगात् । तदितर^५स्य चाभावादित्युक्तेः । कुत एव विधिनिषेधाभ्यां
तस्य सम्बन्धः स्यात् । तथापि स विधिः प्रतिषेधश्च^६ शब्दप्रवृत्तरेस्तीति व्यवहार-
भागिष्ठः । शब्दो हि प्रवर्त्तमानो विधिप्रतिषेधव्यवहारं वस्तुतोऽसन्तमप्यविद्या-
भ्यासतो वासनावशादुपदर्शयतीति तदनुरोधात् सन्न्युच्यते^७ । (२२९)

अन्यथा स्यात् पदार्थानां विधानप्रतिषेधने ।

एकधर्मस्य सर्वात्मविधानप्रतिषेधनम् ॥२३०॥

अनानात्मतया ;

अन्यथा यद्येवं नेष्यते तदा पदार्थानां विधानप्रतिषेधनेऽभ्युपगम्यमाने यदि
धर्मा धर्मिणोऽभिन्नास्तदैकस्य धर्मस्य विधाने प्रतिषेधने वा कृते सर्व्वेषां धर्माणां
धर्म्यात्मभूतानां विधानप्रतिषेधनं स्यात् । (२३०) ^८तेषां धर्माणामेकधर्मिस्वभाव-
त्वेनानानात्मतयैकस्वभावतयैकस्य धर्मस्य विधिः प्रतिषेधो वा सर्व्वस्य भवेत् ॥

^१ बौद्धार्थः । ^२ लक्षणस्य । ^३ द्वयं नास्ति । ^४ तयोरन्यस्य ।

^५ यदि न बौद्धो विधिप्रतिषेधः धर्मिणा धर्माणामभेदो भेदो वेति दूषयति ।

^६ किं कारणं ।

भेदे नानाविधिनिषेधवत् ।

एकधर्मिण्यसंहारो विधानप्रतिषेधयोः ॥२३१॥

धर्मिणः सकाशाद् धर्माणां भेदेऽभ्युपगम्यमाने एकस्मिन् धर्मिणि धर्माणां विधानप्रतिषेधयोरसंहारः सामानाधिकरण्यं न स्यात् । नानाविधि-निषेधवत् । स्वतन्त्रा^१नेकपदार्थविधिनिषेधाविव नैकत्र वस्तुनि सामान्याधि-करण्यभाजौ । (२३१)

अस्मन्मते तु (१)

एकधर्मिणमुद्दिश्य नानाधर्मसमाश्रयम् ।

विधावेकस्य तद्भाजमिवान्येषामुपेक्षकम् ॥२३२॥

निषेधे तद्विविक्तञ्च तदन्येषामपेक्षकम् ।

व्यवहारमसत्यार्थं प्रकल्पयति धीर्यथा ॥२३३॥

शब्दार्थं धर्मिणमेकं नानाधर्मसमाश्रयमेकस्य धर्मस्य विधौ क्रियमाणे तद्भाज-मेकधर्मसम्बद्धमिवान्येषां विधिप्रतिषेधाभ्यामपरामृष्टानां धर्माणामुपेक्षकं (१) तथैकधर्मस्य^२ निषेधे क्रियमाणे एकं धर्मिणं नानाधर्मसमाश्रयणं तेन निषिध्य-मानेन धर्मेण विविक्तमेव तदन्येषां निषिध्यमानधर्मतरेषां धर्माणामपेक्षकमुद्दिश्य यथा कल्पिका धीर्व्यवहारं परमार्थतोऽसत्यार्थं कल्पयति । (२३२, २३३)

तं तथैवाविकल्पार्थं भेदाश्रयमुपागताः ।

अनादिवासनोद्भूतं बाधन्तेऽर्थं न लौकिकम् ॥२३४॥

तथैव कल्पनानतिक्रमेण तस्य व्यवहारमर्थभेदाश्रयमन्यव्यावृत्तिविषयमनादि-
101b वासनाया उद्भूतं । यथा तत्त्वेन विकल्पोपगताः प्रतिपन्ना व्यवहर्तारो लौकिकं बौद्धमर्थं शब्दप्रतिपादितं बाधन्ते व्यवहारोच्छेदप्रसङ्गात् । (२३४)

घ. धर्मभेदव्यवहारविचारः

कथं पुनर्द्धर्मभेदो व्यवहियते इत्याह ।

तत्फलोऽतत्फलश्चार्थो भिन्न एकस्ततस्ततः ।

तैस्तैरुपप्लवैर्नीतसञ्चयापचयैरिव ॥२३५॥

अर्थः शब्दादिस्तत्फलः श्रोत्रविज्ञानादिहेतुरतत्फलश्चक्षुर्विज्ञानाद्यहेतुस्ततो गन्धादेः श्रोत्रज्ञानाहेतोः (१) ततो रूपादिकाच्चक्षुर्विज्ञानहेतोर्भिन्नो व्यावृत्तस्त-
तद्व्यावृत्तिविशिष्टतया कल्पितधर्मिधर्मनानात्वः^१ परमार्थत एकस्तैस्तैरुपप्लवैः

कल्पितधर्मभेदविधिनिषेधयोगोचरैर्विकल्पैर्यथाक्रमं धर्मधर्माणां नीतः प्रापितः
सञ्चयोऽपचयश्च यैस्तैरिव यथाध्यवसायं । (२३५)

वस्तुतः (१)

अतद्वानपि सम्बन्धात् कुतश्चिदुपनीयते ।

दृष्टिं भेदाश्रयैस्तेपि तस्मादज्ञातविस्रवाः ॥२३६॥

भेदाश्रयैर्व्यवृत्तिविषयैरतद्वान् धर्मभेदेन तत्सञ्चयापचयाभ्यां रहितोपि शब्दा-
दिदृष्टिं प्रतीतव्यवहारमुपनीयते । विकल्पास्तावद् वासनावशात् तथोपदर्शयन्ति ।
व्यवहर्तारस्तु कस्माद् विमृश्य न निवर्तन्त इत्याह । अर्थे तेषां व्यावृत्त्याश्रयेण
कल्पितधर्माणां कुतश्चित् सम्बन्धात् तदर्थक्रियाप्राप्तेः परितोषादर्थक्रियार्थिनां
व्यवहारिणां धर्मभेदाद् यथार्थत्वेन विमर्शादादर इति ते व्यवहर्तारोप्यज्ञातविप्लवा
धर्मभेदविधिप्रतिषेधव्यवहारस्येति यथार्थमेव तत् मन्यन्त इति । तस्मात् परमा-
र्थतोऽस्त्येव धर्मिणि विधिप्रतिषेधव्यवहारात्^३ असतोपि सपक्षाद् विपक्षाद् वा
हेतुनिवृत्तिः सन्दिग्धा । (२३६)

किञ्च (१) प्राणादेः सपक्षो नास्तीति ततो न व्यतिरेक इति यद्युच्यते तदसङ्गत-
मित्याह ।

सत्तासाधनवृत्तेश्च सन्दिग्धः स्यादसन्न सः ।

असत्त्वञ्चाभ्युपगमादप्रमाणन्न युज्यते ॥२३७॥

आत्मनः सत्तायां साधनस्य प्राणादेर्वृत्तेः कारणात् वादिप्रतिवादिनोरात्मा
सन्दिग्धः स्यात् । न ह्यसत्तया निश्चितेऽर्थे कश्चित् साधनमाह । प्रतिवादी च
तत्साधनं शृण्वन् कथमसन्दिग्धो नाम । आत्मसन्देहाच्च सपक्षो नास्न्^४ तत् कथ-
मुच्यते सपक्षासत्त्वात् न ततो व्यावृत्त इति व्यतिरेकी प्राणादिः । स्यादेतत् (१)
प्रतिवादिनः सात्मत्वेन कस्याश्चिदनिष्टेः सपक्षाभाव उच्यते ।

ननु पराभ्युपगमप्रमाणमप्रमाणम्वा । प्रमाणञ्चेन्नैरात्म्यमेव तर्हि सिद्धं ।)
अलमात्मसाधनोपन्यासप्रयासेन (१) अथाप्रमाणं (१) परस्याभ्युपगमात् अप्रमाण-
कात् सपक्षसत्त्वं च न युज्यते । (२३७) तस्माद् (१)

असतो व्यतिरेकेपि सपक्षाद् विनिवर्त्तनम् ।

सन्दिग्धं तस्य सन्देहाद् विपक्षाद् विनिवर्त्तनम् ॥२३८॥

असतः सपक्षाद्धेतोर्व्यतिरेकेप्युपगम्यमाने प्राणादेः सपक्षाद् विनिवर्त्तनं सन्दिग्धं
तस्य सपक्षसन्देहात् । यदि सपक्षाभावोऽसन्दिग्ध एव हेतुव्यावृत्तिभावो^१प्यसन्दिग्धः

स्यात् । तत्सन्देहे तस्यापि सन्देहः । सपक्षाद् व्यावृत्तिसन्देहे विपक्षाद् विनिवर्त्तनं प्राणादेः सन्दिग्धं । (२३८)

कथमित्याह (१)

एकत्र नियमे सिद्धे सिध्यत्यन्यनिवर्त्तनम् ।

द्वैराश्ये सति दृष्टेषु स्याददृष्टेऽपि संशयः ॥२३९॥

एकत्र सपक्षे सत्त्वस्य नियमे सिद्धे सति अन्यतो विपक्षान्निवर्त्तनं सिध्यति । यो हि पक्ष एव भवति स नियमाद् विपक्षे न भवति । यदि तु विपक्षेऽपि स्यात् सपक्षे सत्ता नियमो व्याह्रयेत् ।

ननु सात्मकत्वानात्मकत्वाभ्यां द्वैराश्यं भावानां । तत्र निरात्मकेषु घटादिषु दृष्टः प्राणादिरर्थात् सात्मकेषु व्यवतिष्ठत इति प्राणादेरतो युक्तं सात्मकत्वानुमानमित्याह । द्वैराश्ये सति भावानां घटादिषु निरात्मकेषु दृष्टेषु बहुलं प्राणादावदृष्टेऽपि देशादिविप्रकृष्टेषु प्राणादिसत्तासंशयः कदाचित् क्वचिन्निरात्मका अपि प्राणादियुक्ताः स्युः बाधकाभावात् । (२३९) तथाहि ।

अव्यक्तिव्यापिनोप्यर्थाः सन्ति तज्जातिभाविनः ।

क्वचिन्न नियमोदृष्ट्या पार्थिवालोहलेख्यवत् ॥२४०॥

तस्यामेकस्यां जातौ सम्भविनोप्यर्था धर्मा अव्यक्तिव्यापितो निःशेषतद्व्यक्त्य-सम्भविनः सन्ति : ततः क्वचिद् घटादौ निरात्मके प्राणादिर्नास्तीत्यदृष्ट्यादर्शनमात्रेण समस्तेषु निरात्मकेषु न प्राणाद्यभावस्य नियमः । बहुषु पार्थिवेषु काष्ठपाषाण-दिषु लोहलेख्यत्वदर्शनेऽपि पार्थिव एव^१ वज्रेऽलोहलेख्यत्वदर्शनेऽपि पार्थिव एव^१ वज्रेऽलोहलेख्यत्ववत् । अलोहलेख्यस्येव नासम्भवस्य नियमः । (२४०)

भावे विरोधस्यादृष्टेः कः सन्देहं निवारयेत् ।

निरात्मकत्वेन सह प्राणादेर्विरोधस्यादृष्टेर्निरात्मकेष्वपि भावेषु प्राणादेर्भावि-सत्तायां कः सन्देहं निवारयेत् । न हि प्राणादेर्नैरात्म्येन सहानवस्थानलक्षणो विरोधः । (१) क्वचिन्नवर्त्यनिवर्त्तकभावानुपलब्धेः नाप्यन्योन्यपरिहारस्थिति-लक्षणः परस्परव्यवच्छेदात्मकत्वाभावात् ।

स्यादेतत् (१) नैरात्म्यविरुद्धेनात्मना व्याप्तत्वात् प्राणादेः परम्परया नैरा-त्म्येन विरोध इत्याह ।

क्वचिद् विनियमात् कोन्यस्तत्कार्यात्मतया स च ॥२४१॥

^१ लोहलेख्यं वज्रं पार्थिवत्वात् काष्ठवत् ।

तस्यात्मनः कार्यतया आत्मतया प्राणादेः क्वचिदात्मनि विनियमाश्रितत्वात्
कोन्यः परम्परया विरोधश्चोक्तः स्यात्। तादात्म्यतदुत्पत्तिभ्यामेव केनचित्
किञ्चिद् व्याप्यते नान्यथा। (२४१)

न चात्मनोऽत्यन्तपरोक्षतया ते सिध्यतः। तत्कथन्तन्निमित्तक^१विरोधस्थितिः।

नैरात्म्यादपि तेनास्य सन्दिग्धं विनिवर्तनम्।

तेन साक्षात्परम्परया च विरोधाभावेन नैरात्म्याद् विपक्षादपि शब्दान्न केवलं
सपक्षादस्य प्राणादेर्निवर्तनं सन्दिग्धं। सन्दिग्धान्वयव्यतिरेकः प्राणादिरित्यर्थः।

नास्ति तावदुक्तक्रमेण नैरात्म्यात् प्राणादिनिवृत्तिः (१)

अस्तु नाम तथाप्यात्मा नानैरात्म्यात् प्रसिध्यति ॥२४२॥

अस्तु नामाङ्गीकारात् तथापि जीवच्छरीरेऽनैरात्म्यान्नैरात्म्याभावात्
प्राणादिमत्वसाधितादात्मा न सिध्यति। (२४२)

यत्र^४ विरुद्धयोरेकाभावादन्वतरस्यावश्यं सिद्धिर्भत्येवेत्याह।

येनासौ व्यतिरेकस्य नाभावं भावमिच्छति।

यथा नाव्यतिरेकेपि प्राणादिर्न सपक्षतः ॥२४३॥

येन कारणेनासौ वादी व्यतिरेकस्याभावं भावमन्वयं नेच्छति। यथा प्राणादि-
रसतः सपक्षतः। अव्यतिरेके व्यतिरेकाभावेपि न सपक्षे सत्वेनेष्टः। तथा नैरा-
त्म्यनिवृत्तावपि आत्मभावो जीवच्छरीरे न स्यात्। (२४३)

तस्मात् (१)

सपक्षाव्यतिरेकी चेद्वेतुर्हेतुरतोन्वयी।

नान्वय्यव्यतिरेकी चेदनैरात्म्यं न सात्मकम् ॥२४४॥

सपक्षाव्यतिरेकी प्राणादिर्नैरात्म्ये निवर्तमा^१नः सत्तामात्मनो गमयन् हेतुश्चे-
दिष्टस्तदास्त एव न्यायात् प्राणादिहेतुरन्वयी स्यात्। सपक्षात् प्राणादेर्निवृत्त्यभाव
एव भावः। स चान्वयः (१) सपक्षादव्यतिरेकी व्यतिरेकरहितः प्राणादि^१नान्वयी
चेद्विष्यते तदा तद्वदनैरात्म्यं नैरात्म्यरहितं शरीरं^२ न सात्मकं स्यात्। (२४४)

किञ्च (१)

यन्नान्तरीयकः स्वात्मा यस्य सिद्धः प्रवृत्तिषु।

निवर्तकः स एवातः प्रवृत्तौ च प्रवर्तकः ॥२४५॥

यस्य स्वात्म(१) स्वभावो यन्नान्तरीयकः^२ यदन्वयव्यतिरेकानुविधायी प्रतिबन्ध-

^१ नात्र नैरात्म्यमस्तीति।

^२ लिङ्गं धूमादिः।

कस्य बह्मधादेः प्रवृत्तिषु विधिषु सिद्धः । स एव निवर्तमानः तस्यानुविहितान्वय-
व्यतिरेकस्य निवर्तकः । अतः प्रवृत्तिविषयत्वात् प्रवृत्तौ स्वसत्तायाञ्च तस्यावश्यं
प्रवृत्तेः कर्त्ता हेतुर्भवति । यथा धूमो दहननान्तरीयकतया सिद्धो दहननिवृत्तिप्र-
वृत्तिभ्यां निवर्तते प्रवर्तते च (१ २४५)

नान्तरीयकता सा च साधनं समपेक्षते ।

कार्ये दृष्टिरदृष्टिश्च कार्यकारणता हिता ॥२४६॥

सा च नान्तरीयकता साधनं निश्चायकं मानमपेक्षते गमकत्वहेत्वधिकारे-
ऽनिश्चितगमकत्वनिबन्धस्याहेतुत्वात् । साधनञ्च कार्ये कारणान्वयवति दृष्टि-
स्तद्व्यतिरेकवति चादृष्टिः । न तु सपक्षविपक्षयोर्दर्शनादर्शनमात्रकं । हि यस्मात्
तत्कार्यदृष्ट्यदृष्टी कार्यकारणता कारणभावाभावप्रयुक्ते कार्यभावाभावदर्शने कार्य-
कारणतोक्ता (१) अन्यनिश्चयोपायतादर्शनार्थं । (२४६)

ततश्च (१)

अर्थान्तरस्य तद्भावेऽभावानियमतोऽगतिः ।

अकारणस्यार्थान्तरस्यात्मनस्तस्य प्राणादेर्भावेऽभावानियमतोऽवश्यम्भावा-
भावात् अगतिरप्रतीतिः ।

नन्वात्मान्वयव्यतिरेकानुविधानात् प्राणादय आत्मानं तत्कार्यतयानुमाप-
यिष्यन्तीत्याह ।

अभावासम्भवात् तेषामभावे नित्यभाविनः ॥२४७॥

तस्यात्मनो नित्यभाविनः सर्वकालस्थायिनः कदाचिदभावे सति तेषां प्राणा-
दीनामभावस्यासम्भवात् (१) यदि व्यतिरेकमन्तरेणान्वयमात्रादात्मकार्यता
प्राणादीनां तदा कालाकालादिकार्यतापि स्यात् (१) या यस्य समानत्वात् (१)
ततश्च तानप्यनुमापयेयुः कालादिनिवृत्तिश्च प्राणादिनिवृत्त्या व्याप्येत । ततो
यत्र प्राणादिनिवृत्तिरस्ति तत्र कालादिनिवृत्तिरपि स्यात् । एवं व्याप्यसद्भावात् ।
न च कालरहितः कश्चिदस्ति । (२४७)

(६) क. सामग्रीशक्तिभेदाद् विश्वरूपता

किञ्च (१)

कार्यस्वभावभेदानां कारणेभ्यः समुद्भवात् ।

तैर्विना भवतोन्यस्मात् तज्जं रूपं कथं भवेत् ॥२४८॥

कार्यस्वभावभेदानां^१ यथा स्वं कारणेभ्यः^२ समुद्भवात् कारणात् केवलादन्वयात् कार्यकारणभावेऽपि कार्यभावाङ्गीकारात् तैः कारणैर्विविना भवतः कार्यस्य रूपं तज्जं कथं भवेत् । न हि वल्लिजं युक्तं प्रत्येकं व्यभिचारा-
दे^३ हेतुत्वप्रसङ्गात् ॥ (२४८)

सामग्रीशक्तिभेदाद्वि वस्तूनां विश्वरूपता ।

सा चेन्न भेदिका प्राप्तमेकरूपमिदं जगत् ॥२४९॥

सामग्रीणां शक्तिभेदाद्वि वस्तूनां कार्याणां विश्वरूपता नानात्मता । सामग्री चेत् स्वभेदेन कार्याणां न भेदिका । जगदिदमेकरूपं प्राप्तं । (२४९)

ननु^४ कारणानि कार्यमात्राणि जनयन्ति । न तेषां परस्परतो भेदमपि^५ ततो धूमः पावकादिव शक्रमूर्ध्नीपि जायेत । इत्याह ।

भेदकाभेदकत्वे स्याद् व्याहृता भिन्नरूपता ।

एकस्य नानारूपत्वे द्वे रूपे पावकेतरौ ॥२५०॥

अस्याः सामग्र्या भेदकत्वे भिन्नत्वे भिन्नसामग्रीकार्यविलक्षणकार्यजनकत्वे-
ऽभेदकत्वे च सामग्र्यन्तरकार्यजनकत्वेऽभ्युपगम्यमाने एकस्याः सामग्र्या भिन्न-
रूपता नानात्माऽभ्युपगता स्यात् । सा च व्याहृता । तथा हि धूमाग्न्यादिसामग्री सामग्र्यन्तरकार्यविलक्षणं जनयन्ती तस्य भेदिका प्रतीता । यदि च सामग्र्यन्तर-
कार्यं च सा जनयेत् तदाऽभेदिका च स्यात् । तथा चैकस्य शक्रमूर्ध्नी नाना^६ रूपत्वे द्वे रूपे पावकेतरौ स्यातां । धूमजनकत्वाद् वल्लित्वं विलक्षणरूपत्वाच्चावल्लि-
रूपत्वं । न चैते एकस्य युक्ते रूपभेदलक्षणत्वाद् वस्तुभेदस्य । (२५०)

तत् तस्या जननं रूपमन्यस्य यदि सैव सा ।

तत् तस्मात् तस्याः शक्रमूर्द्धादिसामग्र्या जननं धूमोत्पादकं रूपं यदि विद्यते तदा सैव दहनात्मिकैव सा शक्रमूर्द्धादिसामग्री । अग्निधूमयोरन्वयव्यतिरेकदर्शनात् स एवाग्निर्यो^७ धूमजनकः^८ । स एव धूमो योऽग्निजन्य इति निश्चितत्वात् ।

न तस्या जननं रूपं तत् तस्याः संभवेत् कथम् ॥२५१॥

^१ अन्यमात्रात् परो मन्यते तन्निषेधति । ^२ आकस्मिकानुपपत्तेः ।

^३ अग्नितोष्यग्निधूमादि । अग्निस्वभावशक्रमूर्ध्नीपि धूमादिति व्यभिचार इत्यन्यत उत्पादेऽहेतुत्वं नास्ति । अग्न्यादिविलक्षणसामग्र्याश्च भेदकमभेदकञ्च रूपमस्ति येन धूमञ्जनयति तदभेदकं ।

^४ जनयन्ति । ^५ इति नास्त्येव व्यभिचार इत्याशयः अवल्लेखननुत्पत्तेः ।

अथ तस्याः शक्नुमर्द्धादिसामग्र्या जननं रूपं नास्तीति तदा तद् धूमाख्यं रूपं
वह्निजन्यमस्याः कथं संभवेत् (१) न ह्यधूमहेतोर्धूमजन्म युक्तं (१) यतो धूम-
जनक एव वह्निर्वह्निजन्यश्च धूमः । (२५१)

ततः स्वभावौ नियतावन्योन्यं हेतुकार्ययोः ।

तस्मात् स्वदृष्टाविव तद् दृष्टे कार्येऽपि गम्यते ॥२५२॥

ततो हेतुकार्ययोरग्निधूमाद्योः स्वभावौ नियतौ अन्योन्यं तज्जनकत्वतद्भा-
1032 वित्वाभ्यां (१) तस्मात् कार्गणकार्ययोनियमादव्यभिचारहेतोः यथा स्वस्य कार-
णात्मने(१)वह्नेः दृष्टौ तत्कारणत्वं गम्यते तद्वत् साक्षाद् दर्शनाभावे कार्येऽपि धूमे
दृष्टे तत्कारणे परोक्षमनुमानबुद्ध्या गम्यते^१ साक्षात् परंपरया वा तदुत्पन्नेन ज्ञानेन
प्रतीयमानस्य व्यभिचाराभावात् ॥ (२५२)

एकं कथमनेकस्मात् क्लेदवद्दुग्धवारिणः ।

(पर आह ।) न यद्येकमेकस्मादेव भवति तदैकं कार्यं कथमनेकस्माद् भवति (१)
उदाहरणमाह । क्लेदवत् तण्डुलाद्यवयववैधिल्यमिव दुग्धाद्वारिणश्च । अग्निसह-
कारि दुग्धं वारि च^१ स्वयं पृथक् तण्डुलादेर्विवर्तितं जनयद् दृश्यते ॥

द्रवशक्तेः यतः क्लेदः सा त्वकैव द्वयोरपि ॥२५३॥

(सिद्धान्ती) । अयुक्तमेतत् । अन्यो हि दुग्धेन जनितः क्लेदोऽन्यश्च वारिणा ।
रसवीर्यपरिणामाकारभेदात् । तत् कथमेकस्मादनेकोत्पादः ।

अथ सत्यप्यवान्तरभेदे विजातीयव्यावृत्त्या क्लेद एक उच्यते तदा दुग्धवारि-
णोर्यतो यस्या द्रव्यजनिकायाः शक्तेः क्लेदो जायते सा शक्तिस्तु द्वयोरपि विजा-
तीयव्यावृत्तरेकैव । तत् कथमनेकस्मादेकोत्पत्तिः ॥ (२५३)

भिन्नाभिन्नः किमस्यात्मा भिन्नोऽथ द्रवता कथम् ।

अभिन्नेत्युच्यते बुद्धेस्तद्रूपाया अभेदतः ॥२५४॥

(परः) यदि दुग्धस्य क्लेदजननशक्त्यात्मतया वारिणा सहाभेद इष्यते तदा
भिन्नाभिन्नोऽस्यात्मा किमभ्युपगन्तव्यः । शक्त्यात्मतयाऽभेदात् । आकारभेदाच्च
भेदात् । उत्तरमाह (१)

न भिन्नाभिन्न आत्मा किन्तु भिन्न एव । कथन्तर्हि द्वयोरपि द्रवताऽभिन्ना
क्लेदहेतुरित्युच्यते द्रवत्वस्याभेदात् । अभेदोक्तिर्भेदोक्त्या विरुध्यते ।

यदि नाम स्वस्वभावस्थितत्वाद् भावानां भेद एव पारमार्थिकः तथापि केचिद् भावा भिन्ना अपि स्वहेतुवलायातस्वरूपविशेषात् एककार्यकृत इति बुद्धेर्विकल्पिकायास्तद्रूपाया एकप्रत्ययवमर्शाकाराया अभेदतः कारणात् द्रवताक्लेद-हेतुरभिज्ञेत्युच्यते। तदेकव्यावृत्तिविषयस्यावसायस्यानुरोधात्। एकत्वव्यवहारो न पारमार्थिक इत्यर्थः। (२५४)

तद्वद् भेदेऽपि दहनो दहनप्रत्ययाश्रयः।

येनांशेनादधद् धूमं तेनांशेन तथा गतिः ॥२५५॥

तद्वत् क्षीरोदकवत्। अवान्तरभेदे सत्यपि दहनो^१ येनांशेन स्वभावेन स्वरूपोष्ण-स्पर्शाद्यात्मकेनानग्निव्यावृत्तेन दहन इति प्रत्ययस्य व्यवहारस्याश्रयो विषयस्तेन स्वभावेन धूममादधत् जनयत् धूमाश्रयो भवति (१) तेन धूमाश्रयत्वेन कारणेन धूमालिङ्गाद् दहनो हेतुः। तथाऽनग्निव्यावृत्तित्वेन गम्यते। (२५५)

तथा हि (१)

दहनप्रत्ययाङ्गादेवान्यापेक्षात् समुद्भवात्।

धूमोतद्व्यभिचारीति तद्वत् कार्यं तथापरम् ॥२५६॥

दहनप्रत्ययस्याङ्गान्निमित्तादेवाग्निलक्षणादन्यापेक्षादार्द्धेन्धनादिसहायात् समु-दभ^२बादुत्पत्तेः कारणाद् धूमोऽतद्व्यभिचारीति तद्वत् धूमवत्। अपरमपि^१ कार्यं तथा स्वकारणव्यभिचारि बोद्धव्यं। (२५६)

किं पुनर्धूमो वह्नि न व्यभिचरतीत्याह^२।

धूमेन्धनविकाराङ्गतापदे दहनस्थितेः।

अनग्निश्चेदधूमोऽसौ सधूमश्चेत् स पावकः ॥२५७॥

धूमस्येन्धनविकारादेरङ्गं हेतुस्तस्य भावो धूमेन्धनविकाराङ्गता तस्याः पदे आश्रयवस्तुनि दहनस्थितेरग्नितान्वयवहाराच्छक्रमूर्धाऽनग्निर्धूमेन्धनविकारकारी न चेदिष्यते (१) ततो जायमानः पदार्थोऽसौ दृश्यमानो^१ऽधूमो वाष्पादिरेव। न ह्यग्निजन्योऽनग्निर्भवति। सर्वथा साम्यात् सधूमश्चेदिष्यते तर्हि स बल्मीकः पावक एव धूमजनकस्यैव पावकत्वात्। देशकालस्वभावप्रतीतिनियमो हि भावानां नाकस्मिकः। तथात्वेऽतिप्रसङ्गात्। न च नानाहेतुकः प्रत्येकः व्यभिचारेऽहेतुत्व-प्रसङ्गात् तस्मान्नियतहेतुकः। यदि चान्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यामुपलब्धाग्निकारण-

^१ देशादिभिन्नं विजातीयव्यावृत्त्या त्वभिन्नं।

^२ एतदेव स्थिरयितुमाह।

103b भावो धूमः शक्र^१मूढो जायते । तदा वह्नेरेव शक्रमूर्द्धा । अथानग्निस्तथाऽदृश्य-
मानत्वात् तथा सोपि न धूमो वास्यादिरेव आकारसाम्यात्तु धूमाभः । तस्मात्^१
कार्यकारणभावस्य नान्तरीयक^२तेति स्थितं ॥ (२५७)

नान्तरीयकता ज्ञेया यथास्वं हेत्वपेक्षया ।

स्वभावस्य यथोक्तं प्राक् विनाशकृतकत्वयोः ॥२५८॥

स्वभावस्य च हेतोर्नान्तरीयकता साध्या अविनाभाविता ज्ञेया । यथास्वं
यस्य स्वभावहेतोर्य आत्मीयस्तादात्म्यसाधको हेतुः साधनं तस्यापेक्षया । यथा
प्रागुक्तं विनाशकृतकत्वयो^१स्तादात्म्यसाधनं अवश्यं हि कृतकानाम्बिनाशः । न
चार्थसापेक्षणामवश्यं भावः । ततः स्वभावत एव कृतकानाम्बिवराणां विनाशं
प्रत्यनपेक्षित्वादिति दर्शितं । तदेव स्वभावकार्ययोरव्यभिचारित्वाद्धेतुत्वं । न च
प्राणादेरात्मकार्यत्वं सिद्धमिति कथं हेतुता । (२५८)

ख, प्राणादेरुक्तो दोष आचार्येण

नन्वयं प्राणादेरुक्तो दोषकलाप आचार्येण षट् इति कथं गम्यत इत्याह ।

अहेतुत्वगतिन्यायः सर्वोयं व्यतिरेकिणः ।

अभ्यूहः श्रावणत्वोक्तेः कृतायाः साम्यदृष्टये ॥२५९॥

सर्वस्यासाधारणस्य दोषदुष्टत्वेन साम्यदृष्टये तुल्यतोपदर्शनाया चार्येण श्राव-
णत्वस्यासाधारणस्य योक्तिः कृता तस्या एवायं व्यतिरेकिणः प्राणादेरन्यस्य च
हेतोरहेतुत्वगतिन्यायः सर्वोऽभ्यूहः । (२५९)

(७) अनुपलब्धिचिन्ता

(१) अनुपलब्धेः पृथगग्रहणे कारणम्

ननु यथा स्वभावकार्यसिद्धयर्थं द्वौ हेतू उक्तौ तथाऽनुपलब्धिरपि वक्तुं युक्ता
हेतुत्वात् । स्वभावानुपलब्धिस्तावत् तादात्म्यप्रतिबन्धात् स्वभावहेतोर्न भिद्य^१त
इति स्वभावहेतुनिर्देशादेव निर्दिष्टा । कारणव्यापकानुपलब्धिभ्याञ्च निषेध्या-
नुपलब्धिरेव प्रतिपाद्यत इति न तेषु स्वभावानुपलब्धिभिद्यन्ते । उदाहरणन्तर्हि
कस्मान्नोक्तमित्याह ।

हेतुस्वभावनिवृत्त्यैवार्थनिवृत्तिवर्णनात् ।

सिद्धोदाहरणेत्युक्तानुपलब्धिः पृथग् न तु ॥२६०॥

त्रिविधाप्यनुपलब्धिर्विपक्षाद्धेतोः कारणस्य स्वभावस्य व्यापकस्य निवृत्त्यै-
वार्थस्य कार्यस्य व्याप्यस्य च निवृत्तेर्वर्णनात् सिद्धोदाहरणेति न पृथगुक्ता ।
स्वभा^१वानुप(ल)ब्धिः कारणव्यापकाभावसाधिका । तयोरनुपलब्धिस्तु कार्य-
व्याप्याभावसाधनीति त्रिविधानुपलम्भोदाहरणं सिद्धं । (२६०)

उपलब्धलक्षणप्राप्तविषयत्वमनुपलब्धेर्विशेषणं कथं सिद्धमिति चेदाह ।

तत्राप्यदृश्यात् पुरुषात् प्राणादेरनिवर्तनात् ।

सन्देहहेतुताख्यात्या दृश्येथे सेति सूचितम् ॥२६१॥

प्राणादेर्हेतोरदृश्यात् पुरुषादात्म^१नोऽनिवृत्तेर्निवृत्त्यसिद्धे जीवच्छरीरे सन्देह-
हेतुतया आख्यात्या कथनेन तत्रानुपलब्धा^२पि दृश्येऽर्थे याऽनुपलब्धिः सा भाव-
साधिका नान्येति सूचितमाचार्येण । यदि त्वनुपलब्धिरित्येव प्रमाणं तदाऽत्मनि
प्राणादेर्निवृत्तिः सिध्येत् । ततश्च जीवच्छरीरे वर्तमानमात्मानं गमयेदिति न
सन्देहहेतुः स्यात् । (२६१)

ननु यथा व्यवच्छेदविषयाऽनुपलब्धिः तथा कार्यस्वभावावपीति अनुप-
लब्धिरेवैको हेतुः स्यादित्याह ।

अनङ्गीकृतवस्त्वंशो निषेधः साध्यतेनया ।

वस्तुन्यपि तु पूर्वाभ्यां पर्युदासो विधानतः ॥२६२॥

अनयानुपलब्ध्या^१ न केवलम्वस्तुनि अवस्तुन्यपि निषेधः केवलो नाङ्गीकृत-
वस्त्वंशः कारणव्यापकानुपलब्धिभ्यां वस्तुव्यवच्छेदमात्रं अभावव्यवहारश्च
साध्यते (१) यथा प्रदेशे धर्मिणि घटाभावः । पूर्वाभ्यां कार्यस्वभावाभ्यां त्वन्य-
व्यवच्छेदे नैकस्य विधानतः पर्युदासः साध्यते (१) यथाऽग्निव्यवच्छेदेनाग्निः ।
नित्यव्यवच्छेदेनानित्यत्वं । (२६२)

ननु स्वभावानुपलब्धौ कथं तादात्म्यं प्रति^२बन्ध इत्याह ।

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तत्रोपलभ्येष्वस्तित्वमुपलब्धेर्न चापरम् ।

तत्रोपलभ्येषु भावेषु विचार्यमाणमस्तित्वमुपलब्धेरपरं न भवति । यदि
ह्युपलब्धिः कर्मधर्मस्तदोपलभ्यमानतास्तित्वं । अथ कर्तृधर्मो ज्ञानं । तदा

^१ अन्यत्रादृष्टरूपस्येत्यादिनात्मनोऽदृश्यस्याव्यतिरेकेण ।

तदन्वयव्यतिरेकानुविधानाद् भावसत्ताव्यवस्थानस्योपचारात् सैव सत्ता । यथा चोपलब्धिरेव सत्ता तथाऽनुपलब्धिरेवासत्तेति तादात्म्यमनयोः सम्बन्धः ।

(२) अनुपलब्धेरभावसिद्धौ लिङ्गलिङ्गिग्रहणप्रयोजनम्

एवं तर्ह्यनुपलब्धिरेवाभावसिद्धिरित्यलं लिङ्ग^१लिङ्गभावेनेत्याह ।

इत्यज्ञज्ञापनायैकानुपाख्योदाहृतिर्मता ॥२६३॥

अभावः सिद्धत्वान्न साधनार्हः । तस्मादभावं पश्यतोऽप्यव्यवहरतोऽज्ञस्य मूढस्य ज्ञापनायाभावव्यवहाराय एका स्वभावानुपलम्भोदाहृतिर्मता (१) सा चानुपलब्धिरनुपाख्या वस्तुतोऽभावात्मिका । (२६३)

(३) स्वभावानुपलब्ध्या विषयिणः प्रतिषेधः

यद्यभावः स्वभावानुपलब्ध्या न साध्यते किन्तर्हि साध्यत इत्याह ।

विषयासत्त्वतस्तत्र विषयि प्रतिषिध्यते ।

ज्ञानाभिधानसन्देहं यथाऽदाहादपावकः ॥२६४॥

तथान्या नोपलब्धेषु नास्तितानुपलम्भनात् ।

तज्ज्ञानशब्दाः साध्यन्ते तद्भावात् तन्निबन्धनाः ॥२६५॥

तत्र स्वभावानु(प)लम्भे विषयासत्त्वतो ज्ञानाभिधान^१सन्देहानां विषयस्यासत्त्वतः ^२कारणाद् विषयि प्रतिषिध्यते । किन्तद्विषयीत्याह । ज्ञानमभिधानञ्च सन्देहश्च ज्ञानाभिधानसन्देहं । सदिति ज्ञानं सदित्यभिधानं । अस्ति न वेति सन्देहश्चानुपलब्धिलक्षणादभावान्निषिध्यते (१) सत्त्वविषया हि सत् ज्ञानादयः । तदभावे निषिध्यन्त इति न्याय्यं । दृष्टान्तमाह । यथा गुञ्जादौ वल्लित्वसन्देहे कश्चिदाह पावक्रोयमिति (१) दाहादिनिमित्तो हि वल्लि^३त्वव्यवहारः तदभावात् प्रतिषिद्धः । यथोपलब्धेरन्या नास्तितया तथोपलब्धेषूपलब्धिलक्षणप्राप्तेष्वनुपलम्भादन्या नास्तितया न भवति । किन्त्वनुपलब्धिरेव नास्तित्वं (१) तस्मात् तन्निबन्धना अनुपलब्धिनिमित्ताः तत् ज्ञानाभिधानव्यवहारास्तस्यानुपलम्भनस्य भावात् साध्यन्ते । (२६४, २६५)

यद्यनुपलम्भेन निमित्तेन नैमित्तिकोऽसत् ज्ञानादिः साध्यते तदा निमित्ते

^१ सत्ताज्ञानं । तदभिधानं । अस्ति न वेति सन्देहः ।

^४ सति नैमित्तिकभावनियमाभावात् सत्यनुपलम्भेऽसत्ज्ञानादिव्यवहार ऐकान्तिको न स्यादित्याह (१)

सिद्धो हि व्यवहारोऽयं दृश्यादृष्टावसन्निति ।

तस्याः सिद्धावसन्दिग्धौ तत्कार्यत्वेऽपि धीध्वनी ॥२६६॥

सर्वस्यैव हि दृश्यादृष्टावसन्निति व्यवहारोऽयं निमित्तान्तरनिरपेक्षः सिद्धः । तस्या दृश्यादृष्टेः सिद्धौ सत्यां असदिति धीध्वनी कार्यत्वेऽप्यसन्दिग्धौ नियतप्रवर्तनौ सिद्धौ । यद्यपि कार्यं न कारणेन नियतभावं तथापि यदि क्वचिद् भावव्यवहारः प्रवर्तयते तदानुपलब्धिमाननिमित्तत्वादप्यत्राप्यनुपलब्धौ सत्यां स प्रवर्तनीय इत्यर्थः । (२६६)

विद्यमानेऽपि विषये मोहादत्राननुब्रुवन् ।

केवलं सिद्धसाधर्म्यात् स्मर्यते समयं परः ॥२६७॥

अभावव्यवहारस्य विषये दृश्यादर्शने विद्यमानेऽपि केवलं मोहादसत् ज्ञानशब्दव्यवहारानननुब्रुवन् नानुवदन् परोऽसद्व्यवहारविषयतया सिद्धेन घटेन दृष्टान्तेन दृश्यादर्शनवत्तायाः साधर्म्यात् समयं व्यवहारं स्मर्यते । पूर्वमपि त्वया दृश्यादर्शनमात्रकोऽसद्व्यवहारः प्रवर्तितः । तत्सद्भावादिहापि प्रवर्तयेति परः प्रतिपाद्यते । (२६७)

दृष्टान्तमाह ।

कार्यकारणता यद्वत् साध्यते दृष्ट्यदृष्टितः ।

कार्यादिशब्दा हि तयोर्व्यवहाराय कल्पिताः ॥२६८॥

कार्यकारणता दृष्ट्यदृष्टितो दर्शनादर्शनाभ्यामन्वयव्यतिरेकग्राहकाभ्यां यद्वत् साध्यते । न हि वस्तुतो दर्शनादर्शनाभ्यामन्या कार्यकारणता । किन्तु तयोर्दर्शनादर्शनयोर्हि संक्षेपेण व्यवहाराय कार्यादिशब्दाः कल्पिताः । (२६८)

ततश्च (१)

कारणात् कार्यसंसिद्धिः स्वभावान्तर्गमादियम् ।

हेतुप्रभेदाख्याने न दर्शितोदाहृतिः पृथक् ॥२६९॥

कारणात् दृश्यादर्शनात् असत्ज्ञानशब्दव्यवहारकार्ययोग्यतासंसिद्धिः १०४b स्वभावहेतावन्तर्गमान्न हेत्वन्तरं । तेनेयं स्वभावानुपलब्धिहेतुना प्रभेदस्याख्याने क्रियमाणे स्वभावहेतुनैव दर्शितोदाहृतिर्न पृथक् निर्दिष्टा । (२६९)

भवतु तावद् दृश्यानुपलब्धेरसद्व्यवहारयोग्यतासिद्धिः । सैव तु कथं सिध्यतीत्याह ।

एकोपलम्भानुभवादिदं नोपलभे इति ।

बुद्धेरुपलभे वेति कल्पिकायाः समुद्भवः ॥२७०॥

एकज्ञानसंसर्गिण एकस्य प्रदेशस्य^१ योपलम्भानुभवात् स्वसम्बेदनादनन्तरं घटादि नोपलभ्यते । इदं प्रदेशाभ्युपल^२भ्यत इति कल्पिकाया बुद्धेः स्वबेदन-विषयीकृतविधिप्रतिषेधानुकारिण्याः समुद्भवो भवतीति स्वसम्बेदनादेवानुपलम्भ-सिद्धिः । (२७०)

(४) विशिष्टवेदनादर्थानां विशेषावगमः

भवतु ज्ञानं स्वसम्बेदनविषययोज्ञानियोरन्योन्यभेदस्तु केन ज्ञायते इत्याह^३ ।

विशेषो गम्यतेऽर्थानां विशिष्टादेव वेदनात् ।

तथाभूतात्मसंपत्तिर्भेदधीहेतुरस्य च ॥२७१॥

अर्थानां विशेषो (? शेषो)ऽन्योन्यं भेदो गम्यते (१) विशिष्टप्रतिनियता-कारादेव^४ वेदनात् । अस्य सम्बेदनस्य तयोर्भेदानियताकारत्वं तस्य धियः^२ सम्बेदनस्य तु साधनं^३ तथाभूता प्रतिनियताकारा परनिरपेक्षप्रकाशात्मसंपत्ति-रपरोक्षता । (२७१)

तस्मात् स्वतो धियोर्भेदसिद्धिस्ताभ्यां तदर्थयोः ।

अन्यथा ह्यनवस्थातो भेदः सिध्येन्न कस्यचित् ॥२७२॥

तस्माद् धियो भेदस्य स्वतः प्रतिनियतात् अपरोक्षप्रकाशात् स्वरूपतः^४ एव सिद्धिः । ताभ्यां भिन्नतया सिद्धाभ्यां तयोरर्थयोः सारूप्यजनकयोर्भेदसिद्धिः । अन्यथा यद्येवं नेष्यते तदाऽपराभ्यां भेदसिद्धिर्व्वक्तव्या । तयोश्च भेदसिद्धौ^३ भेदग्राहकता युक्तेति तद्भेदग्राहकमपरं द्वयमेष्टव्यं । एवमपरापरापेक्षायामनवस्थातः न कस्यचिद् भेदः सिध्येत् । (२७२)

विशिष्टरूपानुभवादन्यथान्यनिराक्रिया ।

तद्विशिष्टोपलम्भोतः तस्याप्यनुपलम्भनम् ॥२७३॥

अतो विशिष्टस्य नियतस्य रूपस्यानुभवादन्यथान्यस्य निराक्रिया न भवति । अतस्तस्मात् प्रतिषेध्याद् विशिष्टस्य भिन्नस्य प्रदेशादेरुपलम्भस्तस्य प्रतिषे-ध्यस्याप्यनुपलम्भनं । (२७३)

^१ अनन्यसंसर्गिणः ।

^२ एकोपलम्भादिति वाच्येऽनुभवग्रहणप्रयोजनमाह ।

^३ नार्थसत्तामात्रेण ।

^४ किमित्याह ।

^५ नार्थस्यैवान्यतो ज्ञानात् ।

तस्मादनुपलम्भोऽयं स्वयं प्रत्यक्षतो गतः ।

स्वमात्रवृत्तेर्गमकस्तदभावव्यवस्थितेः ॥२७४॥

तस्मादयं ज्ञानात्मकाऽनुपलम्भः स्वयमात्मना प्रत्यक्षतः स्वसम्बेदनाद् गतः प्रतीतः सन् स्वमात्रवृत्तेरात्ममात्रप्रतीतायास्तस्यानुपलम्भ्यमानस्याभावव्यवस्थितेर्गमकः । अनुपलम्भो हि निमित्तं ^१ विषयो वाऽभावव्यवहारस्येत्युभयथापि स्वसत्तामात्रेणाभावव्यवहारहेतुः । (२७४)

[अन्यथार्थस्य नास्तित्वं गम्यतेनुपलम्भतः ।

उपलम्भस्य नास्तित्वमन्येनेत्यनवस्थितिः ॥२७५॥

अन्यथा यदि स्वतो नानुपलम्भसिद्धिस्तदाऽर्थस्य नास्तित्वमनुपलम्भस्ततो गम्यते (१) उपलम्भस्य नास्तित्वमनुपलब्धिरन्येनानुपलम्भेन गम्यते । सोऽप्यनुपलम्भान्तरेणेति अपेक्षायामनवस्थितिः स्यात् । (२७५)

(५) दृश्यानुपलब्धिः सद्ब्यवहारबाधिका

भवतु तावद् दृश्येष्वनुपलब्धावभावप्रतीतिरदृश्ये पुनः कथमित्याह ।

अदृश्ये निश्चयायोगात् स्थितिरन्यत्र बाध्यते ।

यथाऽलिङ्गोऽन्यसत्त्वेषु विकल्पादिर्न सिध्यति ॥२७६॥

अन्यत्र दृश्यानुपलब्धौ सत्यामदृश्ये विषयेऽभावनिश्चयायोगात् । सद्ब्यवहारस्य स्थितिर्बाध्यते उपलम्भपूर्वकत्वात् तस्याः । यथाऽन्येषु सत्त्वेषु प्राणिषु रागादिविषयो विकल्पो ^२ परचित्तज्ञानादिरादिनाऽलिङ्गो लिङ्गरहितः सद्ब्यवहारविषयत्वेन न सिध्यति । (२७६)

किं पुनरदृश्यानुपलब्धौ सत्यामपि न सिध्यतीत्याह ।

अनिश्चयफला ह्येषा नालं व्यावृत्तिसाधने ।

एषा हि सत्यप्यर्थे सम्भवन्ती अभावस्यानिश्चयफला (१) तस्माद् व्यावृत्तेरभावस्य साधने नालं शक्ता ।

आद्याधिक्रियते हेतोर्निश्चितेनैव साधने ॥२७७॥

आद्या दृश्यानुपलब्धिः पुनर्व्यावृत्तिसाधनेऽधिक्रियते । कस्मादित्याह ।

^१ ज्ञानेन निमित्तेन नैमित्तिको व्यवहारः साध्यः । अर्थो विषयोनुपलम्भश्चेद् विषयी व्यवहारः ।

105a हेतौर्विपक्षात् कारणव्यापकानुपलब्धिभ्यां व्यावृत्तेर्निश्चिते^१ नैव साध्यार्थसाधने-
ऽधिकारात् । न हि विपक्षादनिश्चितव्यावृत्तिको हेतुर्गमकः । न हि कारण-
व्यापकानुपलब्धिभ्यामन्यो व्यावृत्तिसाधनः कारणविरुद्धोपलम्भादिष्वपि कारणा-
भावादभावः प्रतिपाद्यः । (२७७)

तस्योः स्वयं प्रयोगेषु स्वरूपं वा प्रयुज्यते ।

अर्थबाधनरूपम्वा भावे भावादभावतः ॥२७८॥

तस्या अनुपलब्धेः प्रयोगेषु स्वयं शब्दप्रतिपादितं वा स्वरूपं प्रयुज्यते । यथा
स्वभावकारणव्यापकानुपलब्ध्यादिषु । निषेध्यस्यार्थस्य बाधनं विरुद्धं वा
प्रयुज्यते यथा स्वभावकारणव्यापकविरुद्धोपलब्ध्यादिषु प्र^१युज्यत इत्याह ।
अविकलकारणतया शीतस्य भावे सत्तायां सत्यां दहनस्य भावात् । अभावतो
निवृत्तेः । यथा शीताभावसाधने सहानवस्थानविरुद्धो वृत्तेः प्रयुज्यते नात्र
शीतस्पर्शो बह्नेरिति । (२७८)

अन्योन्यभेदसिद्धेर्वा ध्रुवभावविनाशवत् ।

प्रमाणान्तरबाधाद् वा सापेक्षध्रुवभाववत् ॥२७९॥

निषेध्यविधीयमानयोरन्योन्यस्याभावात्मतया भेदसिद्धेर्वार्थबाधनरूपं
प्रयुज्यते । ध्रुवभावविनाशवत् । नित्यत्वानित्यत्वयोरन्योन्याभावात्मकत्वेन
भेदसिद्धौ परस्परपरिहारस्थितिलक्षणतया विरुद्धं विनाशित्वं नित्यत्वबाधने
प्रयुज्यते । यथा नित्यः शब्दो विनाशित्वात् । स चायं परस्परपरिहारस्थितिविरुद्धः
क्वचित् साक्षाद् वा प्रयुज्यते यथा नित्यत्वस्य विनाशित्वं । क्वचिद् धर्मान्तर-
विरोधग्राहिणा प्रमाणान्तरेण परम्परया बाधनात् । अबाधितविरुद्धभावो वा
प्रयुज्यते । सापेक्षध्रुवभाववत् । यथा सापेक्षध्रुवभावयोः साक्षाद् विरो-
धाभावेपि ध्रुवभावित्वस्य यद् व्यापकं तेन विरुद्धं सापेक्षत्वं व्याप्यव्यापक-
योश्च वस्तुतस्तादात्म्यादयो यद्व्यापके विरुध्यते स तद्व्याप्येनापीति प्रमाणान्तर-
बाधनादेवावधृतविरुद्धभावं सापेक्षत्वं ध्रुवभाववित्त्वबाधने प्रयुज्यते (१) यथा
न ध्रुवभावी कृतकस्य विनाशो हेत्वन्तरसापेक्षत्वादिति । (२७९)

कस्मात् पुनर्हेत्वन्तरसापेक्षो न ध्रुवभावीत्याह ।

८. भावस्वभावचिन्ता

(१) हेत्वन्तरसापेक्षो न ध्रुवभावः

हेत्वन्तरसमुत्थस्य सन्निधौ नियतः कुतः ।

उत्पादकाद्धेतोर्हेत्वन्तर^४समुत्थस्य धर्मस्य सन्निधौ सन्निधाने नियतः कुतः । यथा कारणान्तरसापेक्षस्य वाससि नावश्यं भावनियमो रागस्य ।

(२) न भावनश्वरस्वभावनियतो भावः

स्यादेतत् । भावहेतुरेवानित्यत्वाख्यं धर्मं भावनाशकं जनयति तेन नश्वर-
स्वभावनियतो भाव इत्याह ।

भावहेतुर्भवत्वे किं पारम्पर्यपरिश्रमैः ॥२८०॥

भावहेतुर्भवत्वेऽनित्यत्वाख्यस्य धर्मस्य भावनाशकस्येष्ट्यमाणे पारम्पर्यं
परिश्रमैरेभिः स्वीकृतैः किं प्रयोजनं । (२८०)

तथा ^५ हि (१)

नाशनं जनयित्वान्यं स हेतुस्तस्य नाशकः

तमेव नश्वरं भावं जनयेद् यदि किम्भवेत् ॥२८१॥

स भावहेतुरन्यमनित्यत्वाख्यं धर्मं भावनाशनं जनयित्वा तस्याभावस्य नाशक
इष्यते परंपरया । यदि तु तमेव नश्वरं भावं साक्षाद् भावहेतुर्जनयेत् । तदा-
किन्दूषणं भवेत् । न किञ्चित् । (२८१)

अपि च (१)

आत्मोपकारकः कः स्यात् तस्य सिद्धात्मनः सतः ।

नात्मोपकारकः कः स्यात् तेन यः समपेक्ष्यते ॥२८२॥

यो यावाननित्यत्वाख्यो धर्म आत्मा भावस्य स किमुपकारकः सन् विनाशको
भावस्य उतानुपकारक एव । तत्राद्ये पक्षे सिद्धात्मनो भावस्य सतः सर्व्वतो निरा-
शस्य^६स्य क आत्माऽनित्याख्यो धर्मोऽन्यो वा उपकारकः स्यात् । अथ द्वितीयः
पक्षः (१) तदाऽनात्मा उपकारकः स्यात् । तेन भावेन यो नाशकत्वेन समपेक्ष्येत ।
उपकारक एव ह्यपेक्ष्यते अनुपकारकत्वे का तस्यापेक्षा नाशकता वा ।^९ (२८२)

(३) अनपेक्ष्य एव भावो नश्वरत्वे

अथ नाशहेत्वयोगात् । अनपेक्ष्य एव भावो नश्वरतायां, तदा (१)

अनपेक्षश्च किम्भावोऽतथाभूतः कदाचन ।

यथा न क्षेपभागिष्टः स एवोद्भूतनाशकः ॥२८३॥

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अनपेक्षश्च नाशे भावः किं कस्मात् कदाचनातथाभूतो ^१ अनश्वरस्वभावः । सर्वदैव नश्वरस्वभावताऽस्य युक्ता । यथा त्वन्मते स एव कृतको भाव उद्भूत-
नाशक उन्मुखनाशकानित्यत्वस्वभावो नाशकालेऽक्षेपभागचिरविनाशी इष्टः ।
तथोत्पादानन्तरं नश्वरस्वभावतया विनश्येदिति । (२८३)

क्षणमप्यनपेक्षत्वे भावो भावस्य नेति चेत् ।

भावो हि स तथा भूतोऽभावे भावस्तथा कथम् ॥२८४॥

क्षणक्षयिस्वभावा भावाः स्वहेतोरेव जायन्ते । विनाशं प्रत्यनपेक्षत्वे भावस्य
यथा द्वितीये क्षणे भावो नास्ति तथा प्रथमे^१पि क्षणे न स्यादिति ।
क्षणमपि भावस्य भावो न स्यादिति चेत् । अयुक्तमेतत् हि यस्मात् स
भावस्तथा नश्वरस्वभाव इष्यते । यदा तु भाव एव नास्ति तदाऽभावे भावस्य
भावस्तथा नश्वरः कथमुच्यते (१) ततो लब्धजन्मतो भावस्य क्षणान्तरा-
ननुवृत्तेर्नश्वरता ॥ (२८३)

तस्मात् ।

येऽपरापेक्षतद्भावास्तद्भावनियता हि ते ।

असम्भवद्विवन्धा च सामग्री कार्यकर्मणि ॥२८५॥

ये भावा अनपेक्षतद्भावाः परापेक्षां विना सम्भवद्धर्मविशेषसंभवाः । ते
तस्य भावे धर्मस्य नियताः^२ । कारणसामग्रीव असम्भवद्विवन्धा विवन्धकारण-
रहिता^१ कार्यस्य कर्मणि क्रियायां नियता^२ । परनिरपेक्षाश्च भावाः स्वनाश इति ।
“क्षणिकाः सर्वसंस्कारा” इत्यकम्प्यः सौ गतः सिंहनादः ॥

न यदिह तन्न न्याय्यं तेनोदितेन च किं फलं । यदि बहुशस्तस्या वृत्तौ गुणः
कथं कस्य कः ।

^१ अन्त्या सामग्री

^२ दृष्टान्तः

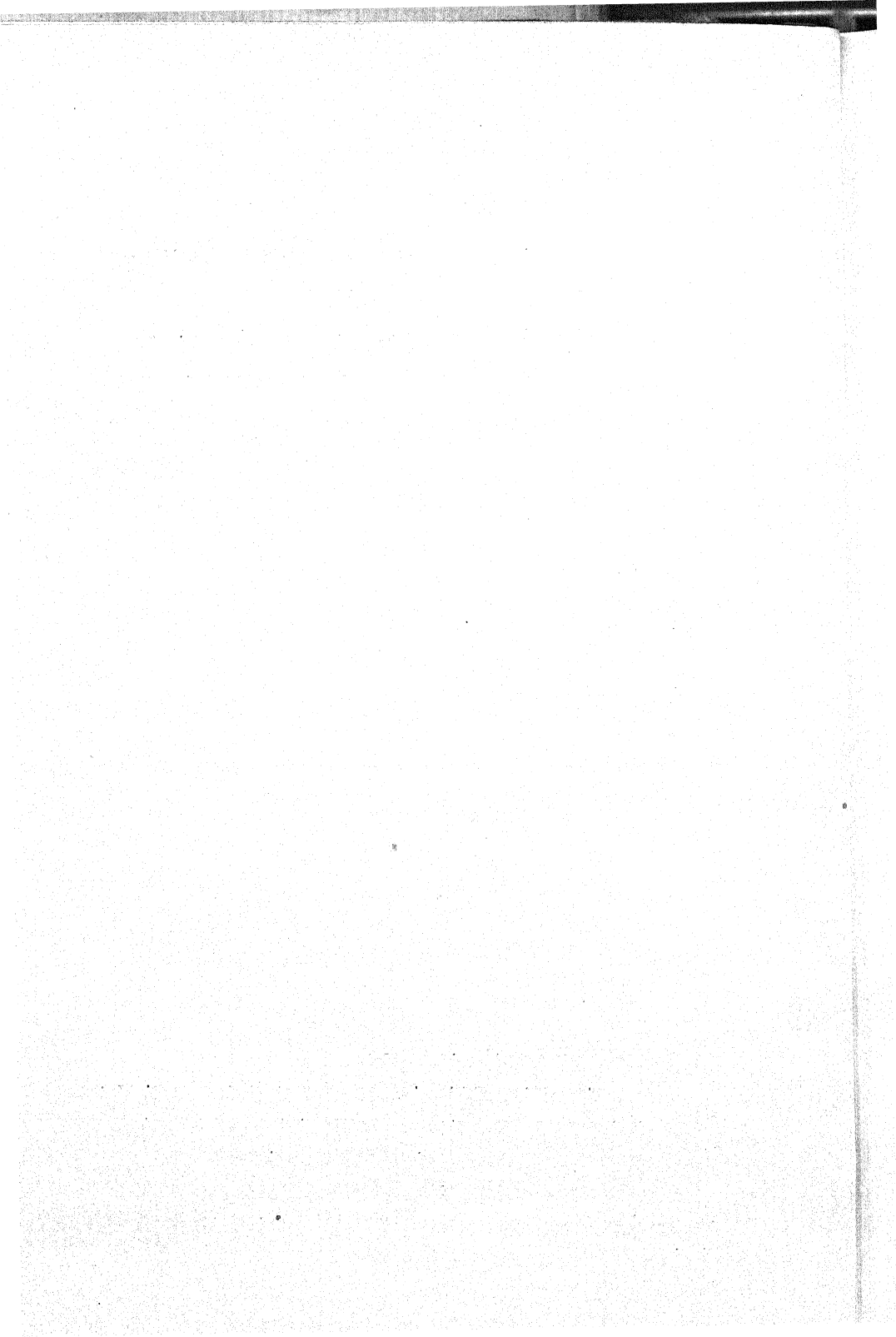
यदि परमसौ व्याख्येयार्थग्रहस्य विरोधिनी (१) विवृतिरचनामात्रे^३ तस्मात्
कृतोत्र मयादरः ॥

आचार्यश्रीमनोरथनन्दिकृतायां वार्तिकवृत्तौ चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः समाप्तः ॥

लिखितेयं पंडि (त) वि भू ति च न्द्रे ण यदत्र पुण्यं तद्भवत्वाचार्योपाध्याय-
पूर्वङ्गमसकलसत्वरशेरनुत्तरज्ञानफलावाप्तय इति ॥

? साध्यहेतुदृष्टान्तोपनयनिगमनानि पञ्च ।

? पा...कस्य इत्यादौ अवयव्येकत्वं हेतुः । तेन सर्वकस्य प्रसंगः साध्यः ।
विपर्यये सर्वकस्य साध्यस्याभावः साधनं । तेनावयव्येकत्वस्य हेतोरभावः साध्यः ।
(एवं वक्ष्यमाणेत्यादि) । अवयव्येकरूप(हेतु)त्वे एकस्यावृत्तौ सर्वस्यावृत्तिः
(साध्यप्रसंगः) स्यात् । विपर्यये सर्वावृत्तेः साध्यस्याभावः साधनं । तेनावयव्ये-
कत्वस्य हेतोरभावः साध्यः । अवयव्येकरूपहेतुत्वे एकस्य रक्तत्वे सर्वस्य
(प्रसंगं साध्यं) रक्तत्वं स्यात् । विपर्यये सर्वरक्तत्वस्य साध्यस्याभावः साधनं ।
तेनावयव्येकत्वस्य हेतोरभावः साध्यः ।



Appendix I

परिशिष्टं (१)^१

११—(१२) अ...था। कस्मादयं वार्तिकन्यायेन प्रमाणसमुच्चयं 12
व्याचष्टे न पुनः स्वतन्त्रमेव शास्त्रमिति प्रश्ने प्राह। प्राय इत्यादि (1) अयमर्थः।
चिन्तया करुणया च मे प्रमाणसमुच्चयव्याख्यायां चेतो जाताभिलाषं दिग्नागरचित-
शास्त्रस्यास्योपकारित्वेन। तच्च श्रोतृजनापराधेन। पदार्थस्तूच्यते (1) प्रायो बाहु-
ल्येन प्राकृतसक्तेर्ज्ञानानीचो (?) दुष्टान्वयः। तीर्थिकशास्त्राणि आचार्यनीतिदूषणानि
विपर्यस्तज्ञानप्रभवत्वात् दुष्टान्वयान्यतश्च प्राकृतानि तेषु सक्तिरनुरागो यस्य। कुतः
प्राकृतसक्तिरित्याह। प्रतिबलप्रज्ञ इति अतोसौ दुर्भाषितमपि सुभाषितं कृत्वा
त्यज्यते। अप्रतिबलप्रज्ञत्वादेव चाचार्यसुभाषितानि स्वयं यथावद् बोद्धुमक्षमो दोष-
वत्त्वेन गृहीत्वा तैराचार्यसुभाषितैरनर्थी आचार्ये च विद्वेषवान्भवतीत्याह (1) केवल-
मित्यादि (1) न केवलमनर्थी सुभाषितैराचार्यैरपि तु विद्वेष्यचपीर्ष्यामलैः परिगतः
सन् दिग्नागं। किं भूतं सूक्ताभ्यासविवर्द्धितव्यसनं। व्यवहितानामपि सम्बन्धोस्ति (1)
शोभनमुक्तं सूक्तं तत्राभ्यासस्तत्र विवर्द्धितं व्यसनं तत्रैव चात्यर्थमासक्तत्वं अनेनोप-
चितपुण्यज्ञानत्वमाह। तस्यैव तथात्वात्। येनानर्थी प्राकृतसक्तिस्तेन कारणेन
समुच्चयो न परोपकारः परमुत्कृष्टं। अन्योपकारोस्त्येव प्रायशब्दसूचितः (1)
इतिहेतौ। इति हेतोर्नास्माकं चिन्ता (1) महार्थमपीदं शास्त्रं न बहूनामुपकारकं
तत्कथमस्यार्थसाफल्यं कुर्यामित्येवमाकारा। आचार्ये विद्वेषः अन्योप्यनर्थहेतुरतो महा-
नाचार्यनीतेन विपरीतार्थप्रकाशनेनाचार्ये बहुमानमुत्पाद्यानर्थहेतोर्जनं निवर्त्तयिष्या-
मीत्येवंदुःखवियोगेच्छाकारा करुणाप्यपि शब्दात्। अत्रानुबद्धस्पृहमिति द्वितीयेनेति
शब्देन चिन्ताकरुणयोर्हेतुत्वमाह। इति चिन्ताकरुणाभ्यां चेतश्चिरन्दीर्घकालं
प्रमाणसमुच्चय-व्याख्याभूतवार्तिकरचनायामनुबद्धस्पृहं सन्तानेन प्रवृत्तेच्छ-
मिति ॥

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^१ पुस्तकान्ते कर्गदपत्रेषु विभूतिचन्द्रेणैव लिखितम्।

^२ “प्रायः प्राकृते” (१२) त्यादि कारिकायाम्।

2b २—(१।२) एतदाह(१) प्र मा ण स मु(च्च)योत्र शास्त्रकृता व्याख्यातुं प्रस्तुत-
स्तत्र प्रथमं तन्मस्कारश्लोकाद्धं व्याख्यानाहं द्वितीयपरिच्छेदेन व्याख्यातं । तृतीय-
परिच्छेदेन तु प्रत्यक्षलक्षणं सप्रभेदमशेषविमतिनिराकरणेन यथास्वरूपतो विभक्तम्
(१) अवसरप्राप्तमनुमानं (१) तच्च द्विधा (१) स्वार्थं परार्थञ्च (१) तत्राद्यमा(दा)
वेव व्याख्यातं (१) प्रथमञ्च तद्व्याख्यानप्रयोजनमुक्तम् “र्थानर्थविवेचनस्यानु-
मानायत्तत्वादि”त्यनेन प्रत्यक्षमपि “ह्यनु(मान)बलादेव प्रामाण्यं लभते” इत्यादि
व्याख्यातं (१) व्याख्येयसूत्रन्त्व “नुमानं द्विधा त्रिरूपलिङ्गतोर्थदृग्”त्यादिकं प्र मा ण-
स मु च्च ये द्वितीयपरिच्छेद उवत् । तृतीयपरिच्छेदप्रोक्तान्तु परार्थमनुमानं
“स्वदृष्टार्थप्रकाशनमि”त्यादिकं वार्तिकचतुर्थपरिच्छेदेन व्याख्याय इत्ययमेव
वार्तिकप्रथमादिपरिच्छेदानामनुक्रमनिर्देशः ।

वार्तिकञ्च विशेषाभिधानादिरूपं यथोक्तं “सूत्राणामनुपपत्तिचोदनात्तत्प-
रिहारो विशेषाभिधानमि”ति लक्षणमयमेवार्थः परोक्तः ।

“सूत्राणान्दोषमुद्भाव्य परिहारो यत्र दीयते ।

विशेषचोदना चापि वार्तिकं तत्प्रकीर्तितमि”ति ।

स मु च्च य सूत्रे स्वदृष्टार्थपदं व्याख्यातुं शास्त्रकृदाह । “परस्य प्रतिपाद्यत्वा”
दित्यादि । सुवचार्थस्तु वृत्तावुच्यते । स्वार्थमिति स्वस्मै इदं स्वार्थमर्थेन न नित्य-
समासः सर्वलिङ्गता चेति वाक्येन चतुर्थी समासः । स्वप्रयोजनमित्यर्थः । येन
स्वयमनुमेयं प्रतिपद्यते ज्ञानेन तत्स्वार्थं (१) परस्मै इदं परार्थं येन परेभ्यः प्रति-
पादयति त्रिरूपवचनेन तत्परार्थं ।

ननु प्रमाणमविसम्बादीत्युक्तं अनुमानञ्च प्रमाणं ज्ञानं स्यात्कथं वचनं न दोषः
उपचारात् परमार्थतस्तु ज्ञानमेवात्रापि परिच्छेदकं त्रिरूपवचने तस्यैव सूचनात्
(१) वचनेनैव हि परोवबोध्यते न ज्ञानेन (१) महती चात्र विमतिः परेषामितीदं
विवेच्यते । स्वार्थानुमानमवसरप्राप्तमिति सङ्गत्यानन्तरं नेदिष्टत्वा “त्पूर्वमेवे”ति

2a प्रथमं भूतं पदद्वयं व्याचक्षाणेनान्वयव्यतिरेकविचारात्प्र मा ण स मु च्च यस्य चतुर्थ-
परिच्छेदो दृष्टान्तविचार उक्तोऽन्यापोहव्याख्यानेन पञ्चमपरिच्छेदोऽन्यापोह-
विचारः समर्थितः सर्वस्य विशेषणविशेष्यादिशाब्दव्यवहारस्यान्यापोह एव
योगात् । “हेत्वाभासास्ततो पर”इत्यनेन तु हेत्वाभासविचारः षष्ठः परिच्छेदः
समर्थितः (१)

पूर्वापरपरिच्छेदयोरनुसन्धानं कु(2b)र्वन्नाचार्यं देवेन्द्रबुद्धिः । शिष्याणां
सुखबोधार्थं प्र मा ण वा र्त्ति क शरीरमाख्यातुमाशङ्कितञ्च परिहर्तुं प्रथम-
परिच्छेदार्थानुसन्धानमप्याह । “आचार्यीयि”त्यादि । इयञ्चात्राशङ्का (१) यद्याचार्य-

धर्मं कीर्तिना प्रमाणसमुच्चयो व्याख्यातुं प्रस्तुतस्तदा स एव व्याख्यायतां किमित्यादावुत्क्रम्यानुमालक्षणं व्याख्यातवान् इति (१) अस्य परिहारः। आचार्यो-
येत्यादि। आचार्योत्र दिग्नागस्तेन प्रणीतं यत्प्रमाणलक्षणशास्त्रं प्रत्यक्षानुमानस्व-
रूपप्रकाशकं प्रमाणसमुच्चयाख्यं तन्नीतेरेवोद्योतयितुं प्रस्तुतत्वात् तस्य विविध-
प्रकारं विशेषेण च वार्तिकरूपेण पूर्वटीकाकारा सद्वाख्यां तीर्थिकविम (f) तच्चाप-
नीय यथास्थितव्याख्यानं व्याख्या। तस्या निबन्धनमनुमानं न प्रत्यक्षं तस्यान-
भिलाष्यवस्तुभेदविषयत्वेन निर्विकल्पकतया स्वार्थोपयोगित्वात्।

अनुमाने तु सा निबध्यते सर्वविमतिनिराकरणा (य) यथास्थिताविपरीतवस्तु-
स्वरूपस्यानेनाख्यापनात्। व्यवस्थाप्येति विशेषेण प्रतिबन्धाख्यानात्स्त्रिरूपतया
पूर्वमवस्थाप्येत्यर्थः। पूर्वकालभाविकत्वाप्रत्ययेन हि पूर्वकालतास्य ज्ञाप्यते तथा 2b
चाशङ्कितचोद्यपरिहारः। स्वतः प्रामाण्यञ्चास्य सूच्यतेऽनुमानं हि सुनिश्चित-
त्रिरूपतया विकल्पकत्वेनात्यन्तनिश्चायकत्वात्। स्वतः प्रमाणमनेनैव चाशेषविमत्य-
पाकरणं तीर्थिकनिग्रहः (आ) प्तवचनार्थव्यवस्थानं सर्वज्ञतासाधनञ्च क्रियते न
प्रत्यक्षेणेति। एतदेव पूर्वं व्यवस्थापितं प्रत्यक्षस्याप्येतद्वलादेव प्रामाण्यनिश्चयः।
प्रत्यक्षरूपं हि तदाभासेपि संभवति। बोधरूपताया अर्थाकारः.....

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३—(११२) सस्पष्टप्रतिभासस्य च निर्विकल्पकत्वेन द्विचन्द्रादिज्ञानेपि संभवा-
नैवमनुमानस्य स्वाभासेषु निश्चितत्रैरूप्यसम्भव इत्यनुमानभूतकारणशुद्धिद्वारे 3a
णैव प्रत्यक्षस्य प्रामाण्यं निश्चेयं। यद्यप्यान्ये (?) षितमात्रं यथावस्तु प्रवर्तते
प्रत्यक्षान्तदप्यसकृत्प्रवर्तितव्यवहारतयान्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां विवेचितवस्त्वाकारं
यथार्थं समवेद्यत इत्यनुमानपूर्वकमेवैतदन्वयव्यतिरेकयोरनुमानरूपत्वात्। दृश्यते
चाभ्यासातिशयात्प्रत्यक्षमुत्पद्यमानमेव प्रमाणं मणिरूप्यादिविषयज्ञानवत्तथा
विद्यतस्त्वत एव प्रमाणं भ्रान्तिनिमित्तस्याभ्यासेनैव निराकृतत्वात्। अन्यथा
कथं लिङ्गज्ञानं प्रमाणं स्यात्। यत्र तु क्वचिद्विषये भ्रान्तिनिमित्तापनयासमर्थन्तत्
तत्रानुमानानिश्चय इति तत्पूर्वमुक्तं। नन्वनुमानमपि प्रत्यक्षपूर्वमेव नायन्नियमो
व्याप्तेरनुमानेन निश्चयात्। न हि व्याप्तिव्यापिकस्य तत्र भाव एव। व्याप्यस्य
वा तत्रैव भाव इत्ययं नियमोऽध्यक्षेणेक्षते। लिङ्गमपि गृहीतसम्बन्धेनैव पृसा
निश्चीयते इति सम्बन्धापेक्षणात्तदप्यनुमानपूर्वकमेव। न चानुमानप्रतिभास-
काले प्रत्यक्षं व्याप्रियते इत्युक्तं। न हि प्रत्यक्षप्रतिभासवत् स्वाभासेऽनुमानं सम्भव-
तीत्युक्तं। अतोनुमानमुक्तार्थसाधकत्वात् पूर्वमुक्तं (१) अथवा लक्ष्यन्ते स्कन्ध-
धात्वायतनानि येन शास्त्रेण तल्लक्षणशास्त्रं त्रिपिटकं (१) प्रमाणञ्च तदविसंवा-

दित्वाल्लक्षणशास्त्रं चेति प्रमाणलक्षणशास्त्रं भगवत्प्रवचनं न तीर्थिकानामिव शास्त्रं विसम्बादकमलक्षणञ्च वस्तुस्वरूपस्येति भावः । तथा हि भगवतां वचनं प्रमाणोप-
पन्नमनित्यादिवस्तुरूपसम्बेद्यकं चाथवा प्रमाणं प्रत्यक्षानुमाने तयोर्लक्षणं भगवतैव-
(3b) निदिष्टं (1) यथोक्तमभिधर्मं “चक्षुर्विज्ञानसमङ्गी पुद्गलो नीलं जानाति । नो
तु नीलमि”त्यनेन निर्विकल्पकं प्रत्यक्षमिन्द्रियज्ञानमुक्तं (1) मनोविज्ञान-
समङ्गी तु नीलं जानाति नीलमिति त्वि”ति । अत्राद्येन मानसं निर्विकल्पकं
प्रत्यक्षमुक्तं द्वितीयेन तु विकल्पकं मन उक्तं । सम्बन्धिस्तु जानातिवचनेनोक्ता ।
न हि स्वयमप्रकाशमन्यं प्रकाशयति बाह्यप्रकाशवत् विशेषवचनमप्यस्त्यनुभवरूपं
ज्ञानमिति वचनात् । योगिज्ञानमपि श्रुतचिन्ताभावनाक्रमेण तत्रैवोक्तं (1)
कार्यानुमानस्य तु लक्षणं (1) ।

“धूमेन ज्ञायते वह्निः सलिलञ्च वलाकया ।

निमित्तैर्ज्ञायते गोत्रं बोधिसत्त्वस्य धीमत” इति ॥

स्वभावहेतौर्लक्षणं (1)

“अनित्या वत संस्कारा उत्पादव्ययधर्मिणः ।

उत्पद्य हि निरुध्यन्ते तेषां व्युपशमः सुखमि”ति ।

अत्र हि तद्भावमात्रानुबन्धित्वं साध्यधर्मस्योक्तमिति स्वभावोयमुक्त
एतत्प्रमाणं येन शास्यते भगवद्वचनेन तत्प्रमाणलक्षणशासकं वचनं शास्त्रं (1) तद्
भगवदुक्तं प्रमाणलक्षणमाचार्यदिग्नागेन व्याख्यातं प्रमाणसमुच्चये नेत्याचा-
र्यीयप्रमाणलक्षणशास्त्रस्य व्याख्यातस्यानिबन्धनमनुमानं अत्र वार्तिके प्रथम-
व्यवस्थापितमुक्तप्रयोजनार्थमित्यर्थः । अवसरप्राप्तमिति सर्वत्रैव सन्तो नमस्कार-
पूर्वकं प्रवर्तन्त इति सदाचारानुवृत्त्यर्थं विघ्नोपशमनार्थञ्चाचार्येण प्रमाणसमु-
च्चये भगवतो नमस्कारश्लोक उक्तः । नमस्कारेण हि पुण्योपचयो भवति । स च
पापं निवर्तयति विरोधात् । पापञ्च निवर्तमानं स्वकार्यमपि विघ्नं निवर्तयतीति
विघ्नोपशमनो भवति । भगवत्प्रामाण्यनिबन्धनश्चानुमानमनन्तरमुक्तमित्यवसर-
प्राप्ता व्याख्या भवति नमस्कारश्लोकस्य ।

“प्रमाणभूताय जगद्धितैषिणे प्रणम्य शास्त्रे सुगताय तायिने ।

प्रमाणसिद्धये स्वमतात्समुच्चयः करिष्यते विप्रसृतादिहैकतः (:) ।”

(प्रमाणसमुच्चये १।१) इत्यस्य ॥

(4a) तत्र यथा प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणं पुरुषार्थोपयोगिनो न धिगतस्यार्थस्य प्रकाशकं
सम्बादकञ्च तथा भगवानपि यत्रोत्कृष्टः पुरुषार्थः प्रतिबद्धश्चतुरार्यसत्य-
लक्षणे तत्त्वे तद्विषयं हि ज्ञानमासाद्य मोक्षार्थिनां मोक्षाधिगमात् । तस्य

ह्यनधिगतस्य प्रकाशकोऽविसम्बादकश्च भगवान्नान्यः इति प्रमाणसाधर्म्यप्रमाणं ।
भूत उत्पन्नः । भूतवचनमप्रजातस्येश्वरादेः परपरिकल्पितनित्यस्य प्रतिवे-
धार्थमिवार्थस्तु सामर्थ्यगत इति न तदर्थमेतदिति वक्ष्यते । प्रमाणञ्चासौ भूत
श्चेति प्रमाणभूतः । तस्मै प्रमाणभूताय प्रणम्येति योज्यम् ।

ननु च प्रणमनक्रियया व्याप्यमानत्वात् द्वितीययात्र भवितव्यं तत्कथं चतुर्थी
(१) न चेयं नमः शब्दयोगे युज्यते नमःशब्देन सकारान्तेन नाम्ना तस्याविधानात्
(१) न च प्रणम्येत्यत्र ल्यबन्ते सोस्ति । ल्यबन्तस्यैकदेशस्याप्रतिपादकत्वादसकारान्त-
त्वाच्च ॥

उच्यते । “क्रियाग्रहणमपि कर्तव्यमि”ति कात्यायनवचनात्पत्ये शेते
इत्यादिवदत्र चतुर्थी । भाष्यकृता त्वयं सूत्रार्थ एव वर्णितः । प्रार्थनाध्यवसाया-
दिक्रियया प्राप्तुमिष्टतमत्वाल्लब्धकर्मव्यपदेशया प्रणतिक्रियायाऽभिप्रियमाणस्य
संप्रदानत्वविवक्षायामत्र चतुर्थी । यदा तु क्रियामात्रं क्रियान्तराव्याप्त्या विवक्ष्यते
तदा कर्मणि द्वितीया । एवञ्च न्यायमाश्रित्य “गत्यर्थकर्मणी”त्यादिसूत्रं प्रत्या-
ख्यातम् । अमुना न्यायेनैव द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्योः सिद्धत्वात् न चातिप्रसंगः शिष्ट-
प्रयोगानुसारितया लौकिकविवक्षासमाश्रयादन्यत्रापि विवक्षानियमेनैव साधुत्वं
(4b) दृश्यते । यथा ब्रूम इत्यादौ परस्मैपदमन्यथा “कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफल” (4b)
इत्यात्मनेपदमत्र स्यात् । वक्ता हि परं बोधयितुं वचनमुच्चारयन् क्रियाफल-
योगी भवतीति नियतात्रात्मनेपदप्राप्तिः । अनुच्चारणव्यवच्छेदेन तु यदोच्चारणं
विवक्ष्यते तदा न न ब्रूमोऽपि तु ब्रूम एवेत्येतावन्मात्रविवक्षायां परस्मैपदं संगत-
मेवेत्यदोषः । सूत्रकारमतेनाप्यनुगतार्था संप्रदानसंज्ञेत्यत्रापि कायवामङ्गमनः-
प्रणामेन भगवन्तमात्मसात्कुर्वन् स्तोत्रकर्त्ता च भगवते आत्मानं निवेदयतीति
ददाति (१) क्रियाव्याप्येन प्रणतिकर्मणाऽभिप्रियमाणास्तीति न्याय्यैव संप्रदाने
चतुर्थीति मुनित्रयमतेष्विवरुद्धं साधुत्वं । जगद्धितैषिणे इति जगद्धितं सा ह्य-
पायहेयोपादेययोरात्यन्तिके दानोपादाने तदेषणशीलाय प्रणम्य कायवाङ्मनोभिः
प्रणामं कृत्वा स मुच्यते किरिष्यते इति सम्बन्धः । एतेन प्रणामतः पूजा विहिता
(१) शास्त्रे इति तन्तुचौ शंसिक्षदादिभ्यः संज्ञायां चानिट्वावित्थौणादिक इत् प्रतिषेधः ।
दुःखक्षयोपायोपदेशः शासनं । तच्चात्र हेत्ववस्थाभाव्यभिप्रेतं । सुगतायेति ।
फलावस्थानाभिधानात्तच्छासनं कुर्वन् भगवान् बोधिसत्त्वावस्थायां शास्तृशब्दे-
नोक्तो मध्ये तु नमस्कारेणोभयावस्थायाः प्रणम्य तामाह । उभयी चावस्था हेतु-
फलरूपा हेत्ववस्था चाशयप्रयोगरूपा (१) आशयोपि द्विधा सर्वसत्त्वत्राणाकारो बोध्या-
लम्बनः । प्रयोगोपि द्विधा विमुक्तिचर्याभावी भूमिगतश्च अधिमुक्ती च प्रायोगि

(5a) को दानादयः। भूमौ तु वैपाकिकाः पारमिताख्याः (1) तेपि द्विधा साभिसंस्कारान-
भिसंस्कारभेदेन। भूमयो हि सप्त साभिसंस्काराः। आभोगनिमित्तवलेन समावेः
प्रवर्तनात्तत्रापि सप्तम्यां निमित्तं निवर्तते नाभोगं निमित्तशङ्कासद्भावादष्टम्यान्त्वा-
भोगोपि निवर्तते शुद्धिभूमिप्राप्त्योभयनिवृत्तेः स्वरसवाही समाधिर्भवति। यद्वला-
त्सर्वजगदर्थसम्पादको भवति। सर्वसंविलाभाय सर्वानुशासको भवति। सा चेयं
हेत्ववस्था भगवत्तत्त्वोत्पादादारभ्य बोधिमण्डोपसंक्रमणमारविध्वंसनवज्रोपम-
समाधिपर्यन्ता दशपारमितात्मिका। फलन्त्वेकादशी भूमिः। क्षयानुत्पादज्ञानं
बोधिः। हेत्ववस्था चादावेव चतुःसम्पदा विशिष्यमाणत्वात्सर्वेभ्योऽतिशयवती।

अशेषपुण्यज्ञानसम्भाराभ्यासो निरन्तराभ्यासो दीर्घकालाभ्यासः सत्कृत्या-
भ्यासश्चेति सम्पच्चतुष्टयं। इहैव जन्मनि काव्यशास्त्रकलादिष्वभ्यासान्निरति-
शया गुणप्रकर्षसम्पज्जायते (1) याज्येयं साप्यशक्या चिन्तयितुं। तथैकजन्मो-
पात्तकुशलेन देवादौ निरतिशयाष्टगुणैश्वर्यादिप्रकर्षसंपद भवति (1) किंपुनर्वंशिता-
प्राप्तोऽपरिमितानन्यकल्पाभ्यासोपचीयमानपुण्यज्ञानसम्भारो न यास्यति परां
सम्पदमित्य(स)म्भाव्यमेतत्। कारणविशेषाच्च कार्यं विशिष्यत इति फल-
सम्पदपि चतुर्धा विशिष्यते। प्रहाणज्ञानरूपकायप्रभावचतुःसंपद्योगात्। प्रहा-
णसंपदपि चतुर्धा प्रकथ्यते। सर्वह्ये(?)णं प्रहाणमत्यन्तप्रहाणं सर्वसमाधिसमा-
पत्त्यावरणप्रहाणञ्च। ज्ञानसम्पदपि चतुर्धा विशिष्यते। सर्ववस्तुज्ञानं अनुपदिष्ट-
ज्ञानं अयुग्मज्ञानञ्च। रूपकायसंपदपि चतुर्विधा लक्षणसंपत् द्वात्रिंशन्महापुरुष-
5b लक्षणप्रतिलम्भात्। अनुव्यञ्जनसम्पद(5b)शीत्यनुव्यञ्जनप्राप्तेः। बल-
संपन्नारायणबलसमन्वितत्वात्। वज्रसारास्थिशरीरतासम्पत् दृढाभेद्यशरीर-
त्वात्। प्रभावसम्पदपि चतुर्विधा। बाह्यविषयनिर्माणपरिणमनाधिष्ठानवशित्व-
सम्पत्। आयुस्सर्गाधिष्ठानवशित्वसम्पत्। आवृताकाशसुदूरक्षिप्तगमनात्पबहु-
प्रवेशनवशित्वसम्पत्। विविधनिजाश्चर्यसर्वधर्मसम्पच्च। उपकारसम्पदपि उभया-
वस्थाभाविनी चतुर्धा विव(?)शिष्यते। धर्मचक्रप्रवर्तनापायत्रयसंसार-
दुःखात्यन्तनिर्मोक्षवभावतो यानत्रयसुगतिप्रतिष्ठापनतो वा ॥

सुगतायेति सुष्ठु गतः प्राप्तः सर्वथा सर्वहेयप्रहाणं ज्ञानादिसम्पदञ्चेति (1)
सुगतः शोभनं वा गतोऽनुबुद्धवानिति सुगतो (1) ज्ञानार्थोत्र गतिः पूर्वत्र तु
प्राप्तिवचनः। अनेन तु स्वार्थसम्पत्फलावस्थाभाविन्युक्ता। पूर्वन्तु हेतुभाविनी
परार्थसम्पदुक्ता निरूपमां फलावस्थाभाविनीं परार्थसम्पदमाह। तायिने इति।
तायतेजनेनेति तायः सुदृष्टमार्गोपदेशः। सोऽस्यास्तीति तायी। प्रेक्षावदारम्भाणां
प्रयोजनेन व्याप्तत्वात्साक्षात्प्रयोजनमाह। प्रमाणसिद्ध्यै इति। प्रमाणव्युत्पत्तये

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[PART II

Leading Articles

MY EXPERIENCES IN TIBET

By CAPTAIN V. D'AUVERGNE, M.C., D.C.M., M.S.M.

The theme of my little discourse—of which you, probably, have had some information, is connected with Tibet; that country, that has for centuries remained aloof from all others and has held a reputation for the weird and mysterious, enhanced probably on account of its isolation, the cause of which may be attributed to its inaccessibility, owing to the difficulties and dangers of travel through its wild and inhospitable mountains, coupled with the intense cold and prejudice of the people against the incursion of foreigners or strangers of any kind—Europeans in particular.

Still, some few outsiders have essayed the adventure, attracted probably by the glamour and fascination of the mysterious. Many of those returned

safely and were duly complimented, fêted and lionized as being courageous adventurers, for having braved the many dangers, difficulties and terrors of the "Land of Mystery". But all were not so lucky. Some did not return. They never will—for, in my wanderings I managed to pick up certain strange information in connection with these latter but—*that* is another story. Some who returned brought back a little topographical or geological information and a few superficial details regarding the life and habits of modern Thibetans, but as yet, I have not read or heard of any one bringing back any useful information regarding ancient Thibet—its people, its learning, its sciences, its faiths! Thibet is not new!—it was in existence countless ages ago, and was inhabited even then, so—we may assume that it must have had some history.

A somewhat vague and uncertain knowledge of that part of Asia as it existed about the 4th century B.C., has filtered down to us from Herodotus, but there is nothing of any use to us until the reign of Tzarang-Dzan, about the 6th century A.D. (1000 years later) when Buddhism was established in Thibet, and even that little, and what we got even then does not help much, as it deals mostly with wars—Thibet, China, Nepal, Mongolia, &c.

This paucity of history may be attributed to reluctance on the part of the people to permit outsiders learning anything about their country and not to ignorance or inability on their part to compile it, but what I learned while in the country gives me every reason to believe that such knowledge is to be found,

if the person who seeks it is of the right mentality, enterprising, resourceful, sympathetic, tactful and with a sound knowledge of the language. Of course, it may be that nature has withheld from travellers those special gifts, the principal of which is a strong and honest desire for attainment when and where knowledge is sought—spiritual as well as material.

A few books have been published by travellers dealing with modern Thibet, but their many contradictions, improbabilities and inaccuracies leave much to be desired for general utility as far as history is concerned, but in certain of those old cave-lhagas (or temples) there are wonderful writings hidden away, that undoubtedly point to a civilisation and sciences that existed as far back as 3000 years B.C. I have seen and handled some of those old writings; the subject-matter, remaining in my mind for years, has created a great longing towards further research.

Those writings, carefully preserved and well-guarded are in gold characters on slabs of smooth, fibrous material or viscous, somewhat like silk of a dark yellow colour, thick and semi-flexible, in a script with the semblance of the ancient *Yagastig* Chinese.

Among some of my old friends in Thibet there were but three, very learned Lamas, who could read it, but I understand that there were others in Mongolia, equally competent. En passant—I may mention that the youngest of the *three* I allude to, had just passed his 147th birthday and was engaged in writing a great work on metaphysics and metempsychosis. The little I learnt from these men gave me to understand that in those far-off days there existed a secret religious

sect called the *Gyal-dzom*—(meaning, the King or Royal Power)—the priests of which possessed and exercised a certain power that held them feared and respected by all—a power that to our present day civilization would appear as miraculous or “supernatural”, but which in reality was a deep knowledge of certain sciences altogether unknown to our era.

Buddhism, by many of the old *trak-phu* (cave-dwellers) lamas, is considered but a travesty of the ancient *Gyal-dzom* that also held as one of its tenets a firm belief in re-incarnation, but not its ultimate *nirvāṇa*. It held that life was prolonged in various forms to infinity. Well! I feel sure that there is a great store of wonderful knowledge that might be obtained from Thibet by tactful cultivation of close friendship with those learned recluses with whom it is quite possible to become acquainted with a little prudence and perseverance.

During the years—all too short—that I have been fortunate enough to spend amongst these people, I managed to obtain some little insight into the inner—so-called “mystic agencies” of the ancient *Gyal-dzom* from which I have gropingly formed certain opinions and theories that might or might not appeal to others, but such as they are I find much that prompts me to seek for further enlightenment, and in this I intend to persevere—when opportunity permits.

Regarding my experiences among the *Re-chang-she-tsa* (haunted mountains) of Garthe—an abbreviated account of which I recently gave in a Radio discourse, I will try and interest you by a few details that may induce you to give the subject a little thought

and consideration, for, I gather that it is to a Research Society that matters of this kind must appeal. When, after untold hardships and difficulties, I was led, totally blind, by my two faithful Thibetan friends, (for over 200 miles, through those snow-clad mountains) to the Monastery of Garthe and was informed by the Chamdu, Lama Rin Gyama, that I would not be able to obtain a meeting with the Tchang-chup-sem-pa Dzurmo (the Saint) for probably a month or two, I felt very despondent indeed. Then from what my friends told me soon after, something extraordinary occurred.

Accompanying Rin Gyama was a young acolyte—a lad of about eighteen, whose actions seemed somewhat strange, for he suddenly sat on the ground and drawing a large *blue* silk cloth from his robe, covered his head and face with it. Rin Gyama made a sign for silence. The boy, after rocking himself to and fro for a minute, began to speak in a low clear, hesitant voice—intimating that it was the Saint himself, (Dzurmo) who spoke, giving instructions that *we*—“the three travellers from the south be conducted up to the Rongdu Lhaḡa,” which was four hour’s journey through the hills. Next day, accompanied by Rin Gyama and the young acolyte, we arrived at the Lhaḡa. On entering the Che-Kang (chapel) where the seated figure of Buddha was enshrined, the young man again seemed to automatically obey some mental suggestion, for he suddenly sat down and acted in the same manner as on the previous day in the Garthe Monastery. This time his instructions to Rin Gyama were softly spoken, but *he* heard and understood. He promptly

conducted us to a small annex where food was given us, after which we went to sleep on the skins that were plentifully spread on the floor. Now what is the explanation? By what mental processes were the Dzurmo's instructions conveyed to Rin Gyama from a place many miles away? Again, when I was taken to the Dzurmo's cave during the night, he calmly informed me that he knew all about my long journey to meet him and the reason for it, and that—as soon as we had started from the Tsomu Valley. There could be no doubt whatever as to the truth of his words, for in the same quiet manner he mentioned several incidents that occurred during the journey. Again, I would ask you for an explanation. How did he become acquainted with these facts? There was no post or telegraph in that bleak land. Another little item for consideration—one night, some months after our meeting, when we had become more intimate and friendly, and the recovery of my eyesight seemingly assured, he told me that the only healing salve with which the cure was effected was nothing but plain water, also that the snow-men's wounds and other maladies were cured in the same manner. Of course, we have all heard of the "power of suggestion", but what do we know of its process? This gives us to think that the healing art is not altogether dependent either on the *æsculapian*—the Pharmacopœia. Research might be able to find something very useful in healing by suggestion. If it can be successfully employed in several instances, why should it not become universal? We might be able to save doctor's fees!

For the successful accomplishment of such matters, and for thousands of others more astounding, there are explanations—simple explanations, if we can only find them, that might modify the derisive expression of “Mystic sham”, so lightly used by a certain writer in his book about Thibet. I might mention that I have never heard of this particular writer ever having been in the country, but I have heard of books being published on the same subject solely on—“what the other fellow said”. No matter how strange, wonderful or astounding phenomena may be, it is neither unnatural, supernatural or mystic in the sense in which the words are so commonly used, as I said before there is always an explanation.

I agree with La Rochefoucauld when he exclaims—“There are few things in this world to which it is impossible to find the way—it is *perseverance* that we need more than the means”. Everything that has ever existed or will ever exist is natural—quite natural. To be *unnatural* or *supernatural* is to be outside, above or beyond the power of nature. And what is nature? No difficulty in answering that question. All the world knows it, or should know it. It is the Divine Spirit of the Universe. Well, I have no intention of mixing theodicy with the subject of our discourse, which is in no way intended to be didactic, but a simple account of certain uncommon experiences or incidents that came my way during my wanderings in Thibet and that from those happenings theories might evolve that would be basic to the development of some great scientific utility.

We have no *authentic* knowledge of any science

that Thibet might ever have had beyond the abstruse writings of Buddhistic teaching from the 6th century A.D. which in relation to other matters might be considered as modern, but from what I have learnt, I have no doubt, that as I said before, a civilization and science did exist. Not alone on the verbal statement of those learned lamas do I place my belief, but upon certain ocular demonstrations I was witness to;—demonstrations—no doubt scientific—the rudiments of which are based on "*Cause and effect*". A very simple expression, but what an infinite definition!

Here are a few incidents as support to my assertions and belief, that some fraction of those ancient sciences must have survived and remain features of wonder and astonishment, which to many is the reason for such appellations as "Wizardry"—"Necromancy"—"Magic"—and such like, that the superstitious are so fond of using when matters are beyond their understanding. I have sat for hours listening to readings and translations from some of these ancient writings in which strange methods are mentioned as if in quite ordinary and everyday use, the nature of which, to-day, would somewhat surprise our generation. One such work was the lifting and handling, without machinery of any kind and with the greatest of ease, enormous masses of stone, that from their stated size must have weighed hundreds of tons.

I could not help showing some small doubt in the midst of my surprise, but the lama only smiled with a remark—"So-pa trok-po" (Have patience, friend). Next day he took me to where a large stone lay by

the wayside and told me to lift it—I did so and judged it to be about 40 lbs in weight. From a small vessel he held in his hand, and with a brush of soft copper wire, smeared the stone all over with a bright, glutinous substance, the consistency of thick oil. Waiting for about five minutes or so, he asked me to lift the stone again. You may imagine my surprise when I found that it did not weigh more than 2 lbs. “Now friend”, he quietly remarked, “I think you will believe!”—adding, that in a couple of hours’ time, the substance would begin to evaporate, and the stone would gradually regain its original weight—and so it was. A few days later on, asking for a little explanation of the phenomenon, he simply remarked—and in a casual manner—that it was only a “T’en-pa nyi, sa-pa son-je, ch’u-tso t’ung t’ung”. (The earth draw made asleep for short time) or “Temporary neutralization of gravity”!! Just think of it! What would the scientific development of this force mean to our world in these days? Cause and effect—and all from the manipulation of certain chemicals of mineral extraction, all quite natural and in all probability easily within our reach. One element operating on another and producing results strange and diverse—just as natural as fire being extinguished by water, or water evaporating by heat, or heat being produced by something else—*et ad infinitum*.

While staying at the “Moru-amo Lhaga”, seated one afternoon in the Zug-kang with Pezu Lama, who on account of his great age went by the simple name of “Goppoo” (which means—“old man”), he suddenly stopped talking and held himself as if to

listen—then from the breast of his “tin-lo” (robe) withdrew a small metal cylinder-shaped article about 8” in length by 2” in diameter, from one end of which he removed a cover, and held the open end to his ear for a minute, then reversed it and opened the other end, into which he spoke a sentence or two in a whispering voice, after which he closed the instrument and returned it to his robe. On seeing my astonishment and curiosity that I could not hide—he calmly informed me that he was talking to his *young* brother who was a lama away north in the Tzagan Ora Mountains, over 200 miles distant from Moru-amo. I felt so confused on hearing this, that the only remark I could manage to think of was to ask him what might be the age of his “*young*” brother? “Oh!” he replied in a slighting manner, “he is not 120 as yet”. I thought it best not to ask any more questions, but during the months of my convalescence with the Dzurmo, I mentioned this matter. He smilingly informed me that it was a simple little “convenience” called the L’en sang-wa (or secret messenger) at one time extensively in use with the ancient *Gyal-Dzom*. The little instruments were made in pairs only, and by some process—en rapport—with each other in such a manner that certain very delicate vibratory action was set up by the voice on the fine tissues of the other. An instrument was no use without its particular pair. The chemical from which the tissues were prepared was of some kind of composite mineral, and vegetable extraction, the secret of which was jealously guarded by the ancient *Gyal-Dzom*, but it appears that the secret leaked out and seems to have filtered down the

ages, but still carefully guarded by a few of the elect. I learned later that the tissues of the instruments deteriorated after a certain time, but could always be renewed by chemical treatment. Here again is interesting work for research.

Once, while staying at Gothon Lhaga, another astonishing demonstration of "ways and means" of undoubted utility was shown to me by the Lama Che-sho (Principal). It was the constructing of a bridge. I was shown what looked like a knot of some kind of root that was called "tsa-wa" about the size of a cricket ball, that reminded me of the *fagha* root, that is found in the peat-bogs of Ireland, only the bog root is edible, whereas the Thibetan root is utilized for other purposes. The knot was soaked in a vessel of liquid chemical for 24 hours, then buried in the earth 2 feet deep between some scattered rocks near the bank of a small stream about 30 feet wide. Two days later, there had sprung from the root-knot over two dozen long thin tendrils that spread among the rocks, gripping and clinging to them in every direction. The rapidity of the growth was astonishing and not less than ten feet in every 24 hours. One could actually see the snaky roots creeping like living things, as they crawled about and fastened themselves around the rocks, some even returning and borrowing into the earth wherever they found depth. Under the direction of the Che-sho two others drew a number of the long tendrils towards the stream across which eight or ten thin cords (6" apart) of common hemp had already been stretched and fastened to the rocks each side. The ends of the root tendrils were lightly

twisted around the cords—one to each cord. Three days later, the tendrils creeping and guiding themselves along the cords, growing thicker and increasing in number as they crept onward until they reached the other bank. A week later, there was a fine swing bridge, four feet wide over the stream and firmly attached to the rocks by strong lianas. Right in the middle of the bridge I saw six men holding hands and jumping up and down to show its strength and safety. I was informed that in a short time the hempen cords that were conductors to the tendrils would be *she-pa* (eaten) by the *Tsa-wa* which would go on growing until the parent root or knot died—which would be in a couple of months, but if it was necessary to do away with the bridge quickly, the point of an arrow dipped in aconite, pricked into the root knot would promptly kill it and every tendril or liana would be dead and rotten in twenty minutes.

And now we come to the subject in connection with the “Abominable Snowmen of Thibet”—that for many years has exercised the minds of people all over the civilized world as to what they really are. From the weird stories of travellers, who in turn have heard them from ignorant and superstitious Thibetans, who call them “*dong-are Kong-mi*” which means “devil snowmen”—it was suggested that the genus featured a polar bear or a gigantic gorilla; another theory was put forward that it was a species of monster, a survival from prehistoric ages, inhabiting those unknown and unexplored regions, that extend for thousands of square miles among the wild mountains that roof the world. Well—I am in a position to assert that

the *Kong-mi*, though in outward appearance, rather strange and unusual in comparison with ordinary men—(though some of these cannot boast of any great beauty)—are neither brute, beast or prehistoric monster, but human beings as we are—at least as some of us are. They are descendants of a people calling themselves the “A-O-re”, that once lived as other people lived, but were driven from their homes and country in the far north by a tyrannical conqueror. This particular tribe fled, and after years of hardship, misery and heart-breaking vicissitudes, its remnants found their way to sanctuary in a certain secluded valley deep among the high Ugalug mountain ranges and settled there as troglodytes, far from the habitation of men.

As the years past the next generation began to grow up, it was found that in stature and general physique it greatly surpassed its parents, and so it continued, each generation outgrowing the last. Owing to the paucity of material wherewith to make clothing, they were compelled to fall back to the primitive, and provide themselves with the skins of animals they hunted for food. As time went on, their bodies becoming acclimatized to the cold, became covered with thick hair which eventually reduced the necessity for clothing to a minimum. The only explanation for this freak of nature that my old friend the Dzurmo, after years of thought, could arrive at was, that it was due to a combination of certain chemical properties that existed either in the water, the soil of the valley, the atmosphere or the nature of the food they ate. The “A-O-re” could

give no further explanation than that it "so happened". These people, recognizing the great difference in their appearance to others, have no desire to meet or become acquainted with anyone outside their own. It was after years of friendship with a few of them to whom he had rendered assistance in time of great need, that the Dzurmo became acquainted with the details of an unfortunate meeting between two hunters of the "A-O-re" and a few Thibetan hunters.

The Thibetans were scared out of their wits and in their fright shot at them, wounding one. The second "A-O-re" very soon caught the Thibetans and with his club killed two of them. The remaining man got away to tell the awful story, and needless to say the story lost nothing of the dreadful and supernatural in the telling. To avoid any further such meetings, the A-O-re, who mostly live by hunting, do all their hunting by night, they being gifted with such wonderful eye-sight that night and day is the same to them. They are peacefully inclined and quite content to live their own lives if not interfered with, but from their own statement, their tribe—once numerous—appears to be dying out. The only one of the "A-O-re" that it was my fortune to meet—particulars of which were broadcast over the Radio recently and briefly mentioned in the "Statesman" excerpt, had, in gratitude become devoted to the Dzurmo, who had saved his life. He acted as the Lama's personal attendant, bodyguard and affectionate friend, until the old man died, and in that friendship it was my good fortune to be included, for a while, but as the man's language was altogether beyond me,

there was not much chance of learning anything at first hand from him. The only information I obtained was through the Dzurmo, and as the "A-O-re" tribe kept no record of history beyond oral tradition; it was impossible to arrive at anything satisfactory.

Four years later I journeyed to the Garthe Mountains with the object of paying a visit to the *trok-phu* (cave) of my old friend, to whom I owed a debt of gratitude for the restoration of my eye-sight, and saved me from the awful infliction of blindness. That he had died shortly after our parting I was made aware at the time, but I felt an irresistible urge to go once more to the place of his death. On my arrival at the Lhaga of Garthe, accompanied by Lepsong Tempa, one of my former friends, I met Lama Rin Gyama again. He informed me that no one would venture to ascend the haunted mountain (Ri-chang-cha-pa), which was sanctified by the spirit of the holy Dzurmo. Many, through reverence, but most through fear. He himself would not venture, nor would my companion Lepsong Tempa, so—I went alone! For one night I rested in the Rongdu Lhaga at the foot of the hills. I found it desolate, lonely and abandoned to the ghosts of which the people had an awful dread. The twilight gloom and the silence of death within the temple, where on its altar of black granite, sat in solemn stillness the statue of Buddha, with a look of eternity in its brooding eyes, lending a weird atmosphere to the surroundings, creating the impression of whispering shadows that hovered about me while I slept. Next day I ascended the "haunted mountain" and about midday came to Dzurmo's

trok-phu (cave). The entrance was blocked by an enormous mass of granite, the size of which suggested its weight being not less than 100 tons and that the only way it could have been moved into its place was by the "gravity neutralizing process" of which I had previously a demonstration. I felt that this had been done by the giant "A-O-re" under Dzurmo's instructions when he knew the end was near.

I often wonder to what form of life my old friend has attained in his present re-incarnation.

In conclusion I would like to summarise the few items that might be worth while giving consideration to, with a view to further discussion.

- 1st. The transmission of thought, as instanced by the Acolyte in the Monastery of Garthe and the Rongdu Lhaga.
- 2nd. Prescience or prevision: Our journey and its object being known to Dzurmo, while hundreds of miles apart.
- 3rd. Cure of blindness and other illnesses, by power of suggestion.
- 4th. The neutralization of gravity.
- 5th. The Len-Sang-wa or "Secret Messenger", —a kind of wireless.
- 6th. The tsa-wa root or bridge making.
- 7th. Were the Gyal-Dzom Masters of the Odylic power.
- 8th. Light by sound and metallic vibration.

The Mystic Light (Sh'u-Ma Dong-Dre)

Once, while among the Kho-Khun Mountains that run to a height of 18,000 feet, I was invited

to visit the subterranean sulphur springs, by the Che-sho Lama of the Tao-chug Monastery, to which the revenue from the springs and its sulphur are a consideration. It was while passing through the subterranean tunnels that my interest was caught by a simple, but most unusual method of lighting. There was a wonderful lake deep down among the enormous caves through which we had to travel for half an hour along a maze of dark tunnels to reach it. At several points the passages opened out into broad hall-ways sometimes 80 or 100 feet in diameter, the roof so high that it could not be seen in the gloomy shadows. On entering the great gates at the mouth of the cave, we had daylight with us for 30 or 40 yards, but on turning a bend I observed a gallery in utter darkness. I commented on this to my companion, but he told me that there would be light. Just at its entrance the Che-sho picked up from the ground what looked like a metal gong about 9" in diameter to which was attached a *wooden* hammer. The metal from which the gong was made appeared to be polished bronze, through which ran a highly ornamental, decorative tracery of thin silver thread. He raised the mallet and struck the gong once. The result was startling to say the least of it, for half a dozen lights of a strange green colour crept slowly into existence, dimly at first but in the space of a minute, they had grown in intensity to the equal of 500 candle power each.

They were situated 20 feet apart along the gallery walls, and hung from a kind of wooden bracket about 5 feet from the ground. At first I thought that the

mallet stroke on the gong was a signal to someone to put on the lights, but I was wrong as you will hear.

Having passed the last light we turned down another dark gallery, another stroke of the mallet and more sparks of light appeared, that gradually grew as large as the others, and so it continued for half an hour while we twisted and turned through many galleries until at last we emerged into a vast space—an enormous cave the size I could not guess at—as—with the exception of a dim phosphorescent glow it was in darkness, but the odour and the heated atmosphere told me that we were close to the sulphur springs. Two *heavier* strokes with the mallet on the gong and 50 points of light appeared, growing brighter and more intense until the vastness of the mighty dome was lit up in shimmering green showing the surface of a small lake somewhat oval in shape that might have measured 100×60 feet. The scene undoubtedly was striking and beautiful, but I was too much taken up with the lights and their method of production to pay attention to the sulphur lake and its product—I had seen several such before.

Approaching one of the lights, I found that it was but a lump of common stone-crystal about 4" in diameter placed on a plate of some kind of metal, grey in colour, about half an inch thick and one foot in diameter, all of which was hung by bronze wire loops from an arm at right angles from a wooden upright. Over and around the plate ran an ornamental tracing in thin lines of gold hieroglyphics resembling the characters on the cave writings. Needless to say, I was keen to get an explanation. The Che-sho

willingly informed me that the sound of the gong penetrated the metal plate from which a vibrating force emanated, that had the effect of infusing to the crystal particles a bright luminous glow that gradually grew to a certain intensity in accordance with the volume of vibratory sound. If the gong was struck with a metal hammer, the glow would be so great that the human eye could not stand it without a head covering of thick cloth—and still neither the crystal or plate had a particle of heat.

Che-sho said that he had no knowledge of what kind of metal the plate or the gong was made of, as they were received in his Monastery hundreds of years ago. He could not say from where or from whom; but personally, I have no doubt but that it is another of the ancient Gyal-Dzom's scientific secrets.

MAURYAN SCULPTURES FROM LOHĀNIPUR PATNA

(WITH PLATES)

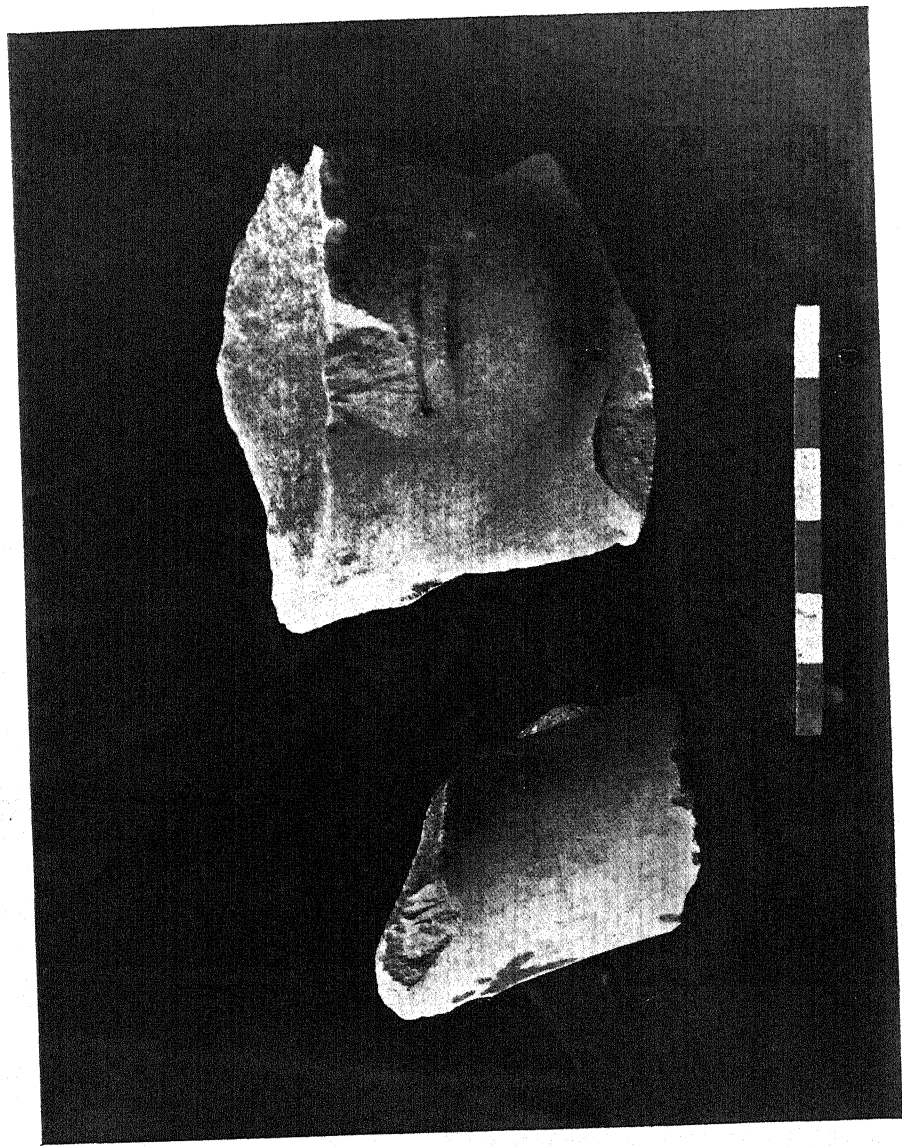
By A. BANERJI-SASTRI

Lohānipur is a fairly extensive area of low-lying lands about a mile to the west of Bulāndibagh and about a mile and half to the west-north of Kumrāhār. Kumrāhār and Bulāndibagh were excavated from 1912 to 1915 by the late Dr. Spooner¹ who claimed the remains at Kumrāhār as the site of the Mauryan palace at old Pāṭaliputra in the third century B.C., and Bulāndibagh with its wooden palisade to be a continuation of Mauryan buildings between the Ganges and Kumrāhār. Lohānipur is an extension of the same area extending to Kumrāhār to the east and to Bulāndibagh to the east and north.

In recent years Lohānipur and the adjacent area of Kadam Kuan have seen large-scale building operations. In 1937, in connection with these operations at a site in Lohānipur, were unearthed two nude torsos.² The heads were missing in both the figures, otherwise the figures are well preserved up to the knees, except that in the bigger one the hands are truncated from the elbows. Of these the smaller probably belonged to the Gupta period. The bigger

¹ Spooner, *Excavations at Pataliputra*, A. S. R., 1912-3.

² J. B. O. R. S., 1936.



Mauryan Head and Fragment from Lohānipur Patna.

A.B.



Mauryan Head from Lohānipur, Patna. Left Side.

A.B.S.

one in buff sandstone with the polish as on the Didār-gañj image and the Kumrāhar pillar as well as on the inscribed pillars of Aśoka and in the caves at Barābar bearing inscriptions of Aśoka is undoubtedly Mauryan. Both these figures apparently represent Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras¹ in the third century B.C. These sculptures are now housed in the Patna Museum.

The present Mauryan sculptures have been discovered at the same site at Lohānipur. They consist of two pieces, one a head, the other a fragment of an arm or leg—both in the same hard greyish buff sandstone evidently from Chunar.² They were discovered accidentally while foundations were being dug for building a house. The finds were thrown into a neighbouring well to avoid, it seems, drawing the attention of the Museum authorities.

A needy man, however, for a reward, reported the discovery to the Curator of the Patna Museum. The Curator at once realized its importance, went to the spot and secured the pieces for the Patna Museum. Thanks to his timely action, another specimen, though fragmentary, of the plastic works of the Maurya dynasty has been added to the collection actually unearthed at Patna.³

As is well-known, figural sculptures of the Mauryan epoch so far discovered are not many and consist of the elephant of Dhauli, the capitals of the

¹ Whether they were Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras of the post-Mahāvīra period is still an open question in the light of the two statues from Harappa going back to the Chalcolithic age discussed by Marshall in Mahenjo-Daro, Vol. I, p. 45.

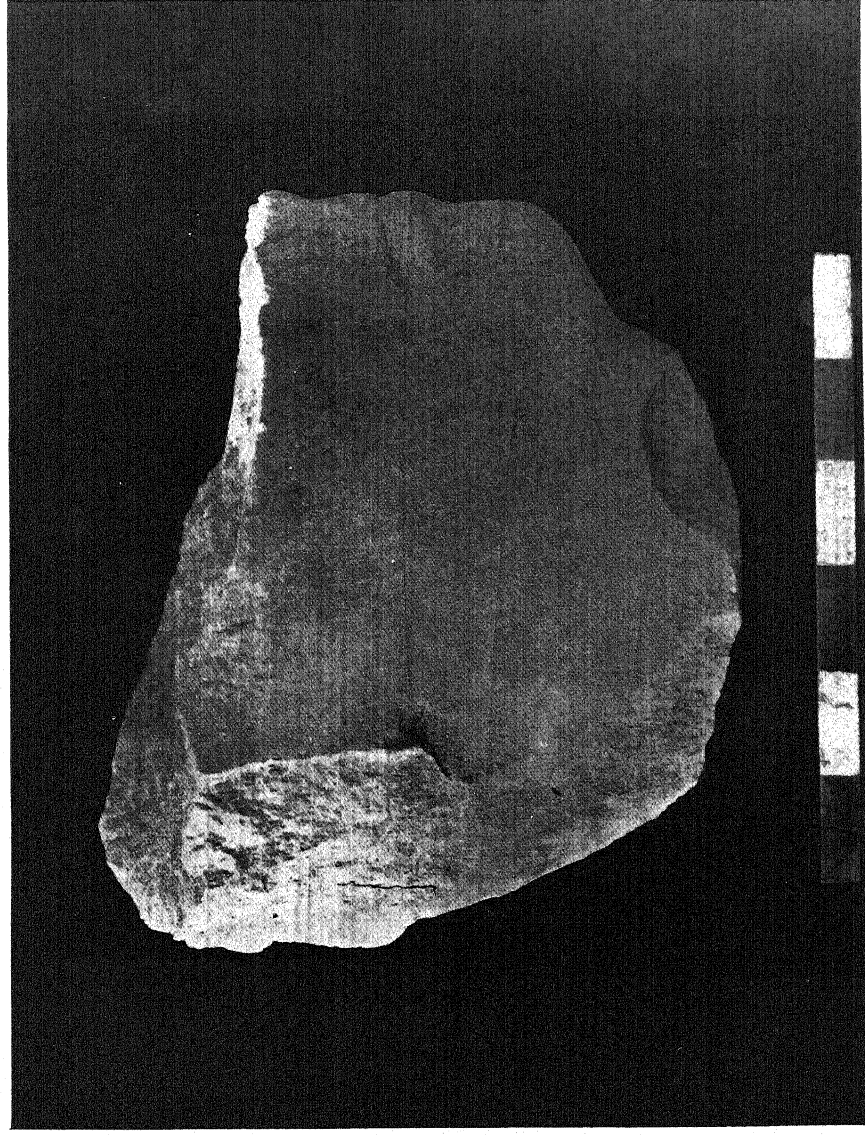
² Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculptures*, Vol. I, p. 8.

³ Spooner, J. B. O. R. S., 1919, p. 111.

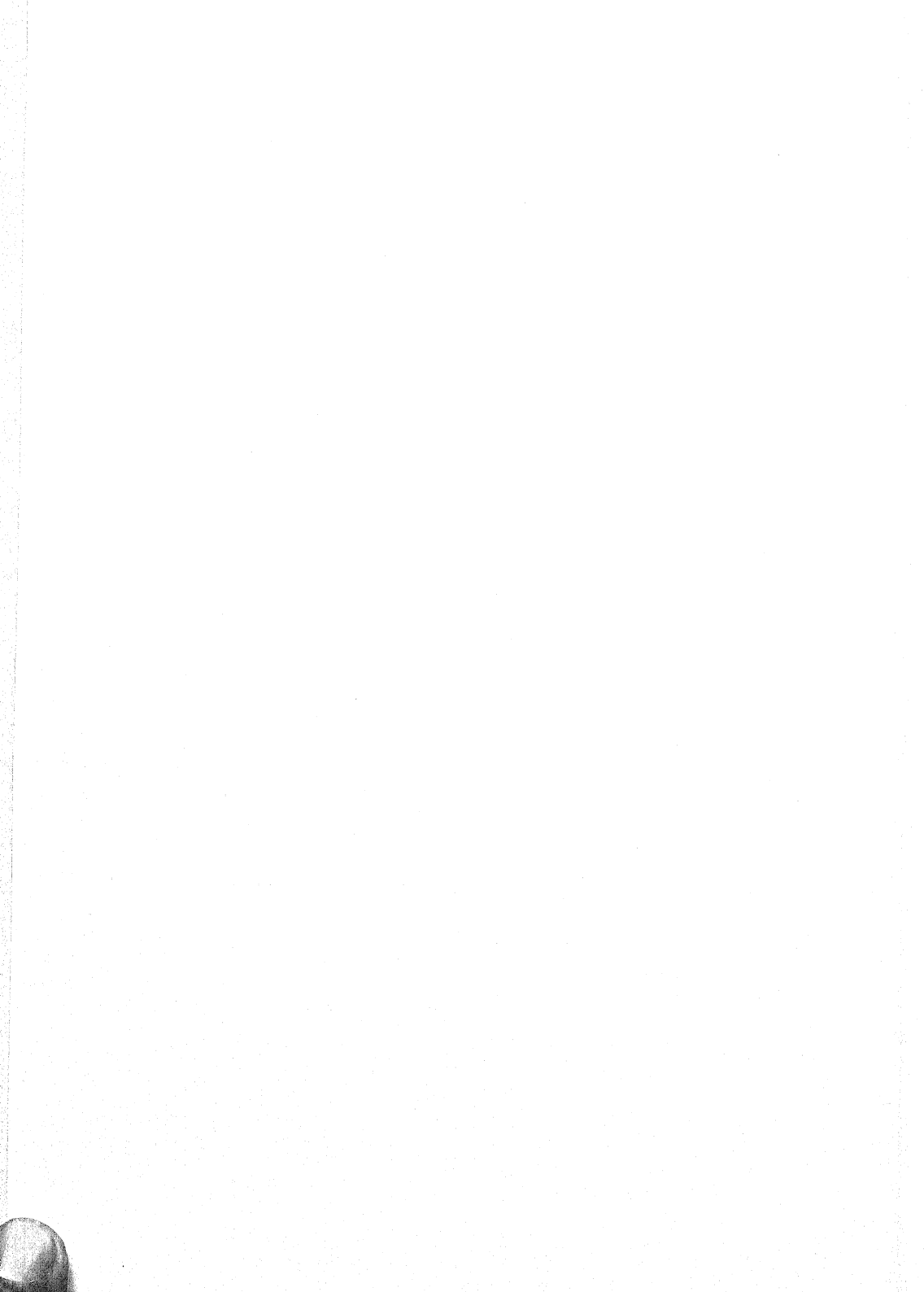
eight memorial columns, a few figures and a few fragments of heads notably from Sārnāth discovered by Hargreaves in 1914-15. The two comparatively well-preserved heads from Sārnāth¹ are of special interest. If these two are compared with the Didārgaṇj image at the Patna Museum, the only work where the face is not mutilated, one is struck by the change in the rendering of the eye. Compare the sculptures as reproduced in Bachhofer's *Early Indian Sculpture*, Vol. II, Plates 9 and 12. The Didārgaṇj eye is very small, the lower lid being slightly curved, while the upper lid comparatively arches over it. In the Sārnāth head, the eye is flat and long-drawn, the lids indicated by the same device, the eyebrows meeting and the boundary between brow and nose sharply marked. The Lohānipur head is unfortunately broken from above the nostrils. The reproduction of the mouth and the brilliant polish are similar in the Didārgaṇj and the Lohānipur sculptures. The choice, however, of a greyish buff instead of the reddish soft of the Didārgaṇj, and specially the rendering of the lips delicately firm may indicate the probability of the head being of a male and the possibility of its belonging to a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. The dimensions go against the head fitting on the torso discovered in 1937 at the same site.² The material in either case is the same and "enables us to draw a conclusion with regard to the origin of the sculptures, namely that they all come from Chunar, like the columns of Aśoka, and that they are all executed in the same style. The

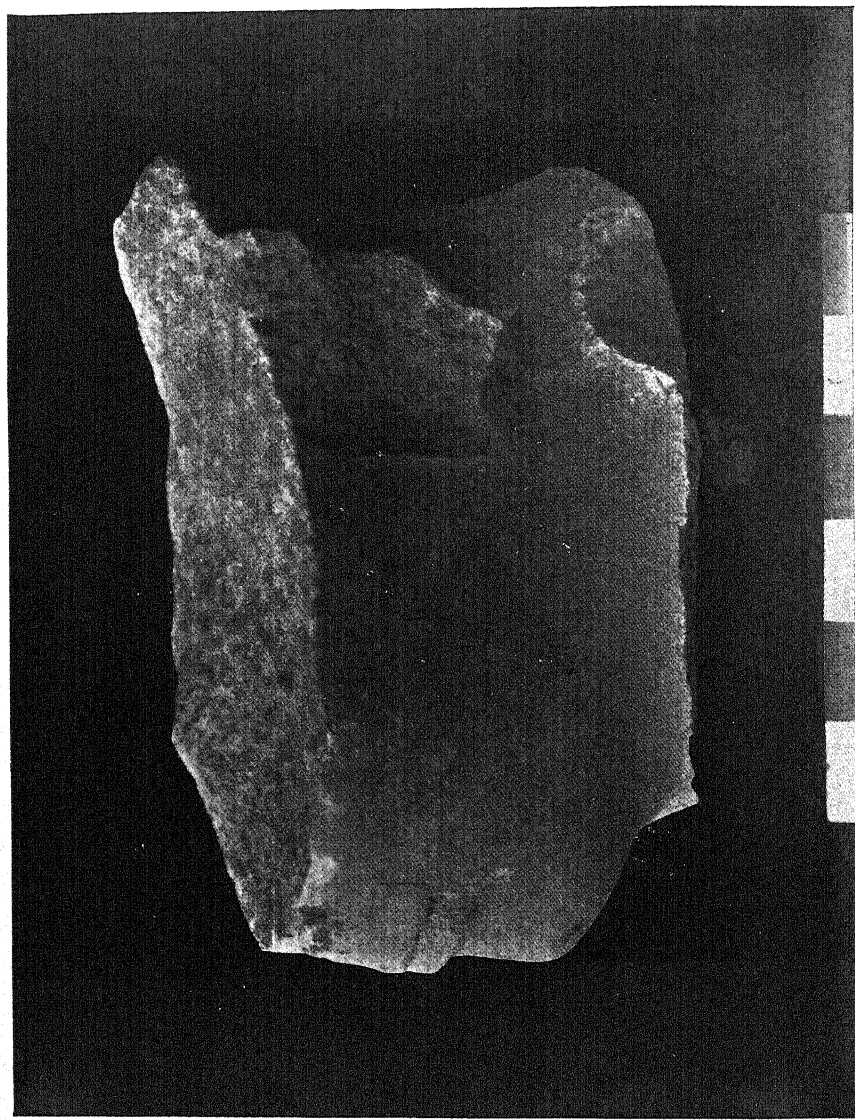
¹ Hargreaves, A. S. R., 1914-15, Pl. 65, Figs. f-i.

² Jayaswal, J. B. O. R. S., 1936.



Mauryan Head from Lohānīpur, Patua. Right Side.





Mauryan Head from Lohānīpur, Patna. Left and Back.

qualitative disparity between these sculptures helps in determining the purely Indian motif executed in a style from the two portrait statues of Patna and the Didārgañj image to the two Parkham statues containing a peculiar mixture of maturity and primitiveness.

The Lohānipur head follows a purely Indian canon of form, the face being more square than oval. Unlike the Parkham statues exclusively calculated upon a front view, the Lohānipur head suggests knowledge of the third dimension. A comparison of the four reproductions (obtained through the kindness of the President, Managing Committee, Patna Museum)—front, right and left sides, and part of the back, Plates I-IV, disproves unconditional "frontality". In analysing the Parkham statues, Marshall held that the left and the right almost correspond to each other, and that nothing except the front side was expected to be seen. According to him,¹ the side view was unsuccessful, and the back view bore only a few slight incisions, neither the side nor the back being considered as of any importance. Marshall's description² does not apply to the Lohānipur head. The two side views are as powerful as the front, and the back is polished in the same painstaking way as the rest of the head. Whether "frontality" indicates primitiveness or decadence, reminiscence or gradual oblivion of a Western influence with its mastery of volume and the three dimensions, the origin and

¹ Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro*, Vol. I, p. 45. Two stone statues from Harappa c. 3000 B.C.

² Camb. Hist. Ind., pp. 618-23.

conception of the Mauryan figural plastic is Indian in sentiment, material and workmanship.

The head is mutilated from above the tip of the nose but the size can be estimated roughly: height about 6", length across $9\frac{1}{4}$ ", width across $8\frac{1}{4}$ ". Fragment of arm or leg— $5" \times 3\frac{3}{4}"$.¹ The provenance being so definitely known, the rest of the body or other Mauryan fragments may be buried in the same site. Both the 1937 and the present sculptures were found at a depth of about 6' from the present surface which is 9' below the surrounding land-level. In view of the importance of the finds, it is desirable that the site should be properly excavated as soon as possible. The President of the Managing Committee of the Patna Museum, Mr. P. C. Manuk, who has given generously of his valuable time and a connoisseur's inspiration to build up the Museum collection from their insignificant beginnings to their present high level, has already issued an appeal to the public for funds to enable the Museum authorities to undertake the work of excavation. It is to be hoped that all interested in India's past will respond to an appeal for such an end from such quarters.

¹ Details kindly supplied by Mr. S. A. Shere, Curator, Patna Museum.

ANĠIRAS

By RANJIT SING SATYASRAY

Anġiras is one of those seven famous sages of ancient India whose name is reverentially mentioned by every orthodox Hindu in their daily incantation of ablution (*Tarpana*)¹. They bow down their heads in salutation to him as one of their most glorious ancestors. Over and above, the high caste Hindus belonging to the gotras under Bharadvāja and Gautama gaṇas believe themselves to be his descendants and those, belonging to the gotras under Kevalāṅgirasas such as Hārīta, Maudgalya, Viṣṇuvṛddha, Gārgya and so on, bow down to his memory as their ancient supreme preceptor (*Guru*). According to the Hindu conception, this visible universe emanates from the supreme God Nārāyaṇa out of the lotus in whose navel, the creator Brahmā sprang into being. He created the seven sages out of a sheer desire for creation. According to the Purāṇas, these sages are the ancestors of mankind and Brahmā is affectionately called Grandfather (*Pitāmaha*). As a matter of fact, Anġiras is a very ancient sage whose name is mentioned as many as sixty times² in the text of the Ṛgveda in the

¹ The mantra of the Tarpana is:

Om Marichistrpyatām, Om Atristrpyatām, Om Angirāstrpyatām, Om Pulastyastrpyatām, Om Pulahastrpyatām, Om Kratustrpyatām, Om Prachetāstrpyatām, Om Vaśiṣṭhāstrpyatām, Om Bhṛgustrpyatām, Om Nāradastrpyatām.

² Dr. A. A. Macdonell: Vedic Mythology, p. 142.

singular number and about thirty times in the plural, and in many places, the name is mentioned in such a way as to suggest that this sage verily existed in flesh and blood long before the ages of the Ṛgveda as an important personality. In some of the sūktas (hymns) he is addressed as "Father", "Our fathers", "Our ancient fathers"³ and so forth. In the Vedic literature and subsequent sacred scriptures, the name Āṅgīrasa means descendants of Āṅgīras, a single Āṅgīras being regarded as their ancestor.⁴ The sixty second sūkta (hymn) of the tenth maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda is merely a psalm in praise of this sage and his descendants. They are the seers of the ninth maṇḍala;⁵ Vāmadeva, the seer of the fourth and Bharadvāja, that of the sixth are descended from Āṅgīras. The Kaṇvas are also known to be Āṅgīrasas and they are the seers of the eighth maṇḍala. So we may fairly conclude that the descendants of Āṅgīras and their disciples are the authors of the bulk of the hymns of the Ṛgveda. The Atharvaveda is known as the Bhṛgvaṅgīrasa Veda and its Āṅgīras portion was composed by the sages of Āṅgīras family. The treatise named Āṅgīraḥsaṁhitā is reputed to be composed by Āṅgīras. At any rate, it must have been composed by some one of his descendants.

Āṅgīras as Fire-priest

In the Ṛgveda, Āṅgīras, par excellence, is the firepriest and friend of Indra. He it was, who thought

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Dr. Weber: History of Indian Literature, p. 31.

of the first ordinance of sacrifice.⁶ It is he who found Agni hidden in the wood,⁷ that is to say, in all probability, he was the inventor of the art and science of kindling fire artificially by means of rubbing two pieces of woods which afterwards became prominent as Araṇimanthana. In the history of human progress and development of their civilisation, the art of collecting, protecting and actually lightening fire artificially, has played a very prominent part, and in fact, the "fire-lore" may be regarded as the measuring rod of human civilisation. It is one of the distinguishing feature which separates mankind from lower animals. There is very little difference between the mode of life led by beasts and that led by the primitive man, devoid of the knowledge of fire. In many points the primitive man suffered more disadvantages than the beasts, *e.g.*, many a beast had more physical strength than the primitive man. It is of course true that animals do not know how to fight with weapons which are not attached to any part of their bodies like teeth, nails, and do not know how to use a stick or throw a stone. It is also true that it was easy for man to learn the art of fighting with instruments like stone and sticks for their peculiar natural position of the thumb finger and it is for this reason that it was possible for him to know how to throw a stone. He soon discovered the superiority of sharp and pointed stones and sticks and from securing natural ones, he very soon learnt the art of sharpening blunt ones. These 'lances', sharp ins-

⁶ Rgv., X. 67. 2.

⁷ Rgv., V. 11. 6.

truments and implements were perhaps his earliest weapons which gave him the advantage not only of fighting in a better way but also of fighting from some distance. These advantages gave him some security against the wild ferocious animals. It probably makes the first chapter in man's battle of life and victory over other animals. But yet he was an easy prey to environmental circumstances such as heat, cold and change of seasons. The superior construction of his brain, his power of imagination and his sharp memory drew his attention to the luminous and heat-producing bodies. The healthy influence of the sun's rays is well known to man and the beast alike. The primitive man might have observed heat and light of fire in a sylvan conflagration produced by lightning or other natural causes. He probably learnt without difficulty that if fuel is added to fire, it can be kept burning as long as one pleases and he might have very soon known the advantage of dry wood in this respect. In course of time he came to know how to collect fire kindled by nature such as conflagration in the wood and preserve it by adding fuel to it. The natural fear of animals from fire made man's position safer. Now it became easier for him to live in comparatively colder climate. By and by he devised means how to withstand winter and he was spared the necessity of changing residence with the change of seasons. Next he began to get his first lessons in metallurgy and make weapons and articles of daily use out of metals. In the meantime he learnt how to tame wild animals and made his existence yet safer.

How the process of kindling fire was invented by the races other than the Aryans is almost a matter of conjecture. But we are in a position to learn from the R̥gveda, the oldest literary work of the world and sacred book of the Hindus, how the Indo-Aryans, nay the Aryans, invented their own method. Three names figure prominently in this connection, *viz.*, Bhṛgu, Atharvan and Aṅgirs. But the method and principle of every one of them had distinctive features of their own.

Bhṛgu perhaps did not know at all the art of kindling fire artificially. Perhaps some ancient Aryan observer watched the movements of clouds driven by wind. His attention was probably drawn to lightning accompanied by the sound of the thunder produced by the mutual collision of moving clouds and to the fall of rain at the moment. He probably observed a forest in conflagration due to the "fall" of an actual thunder and brighter lightning caused by violent collision of bigger moving clouds. He perhaps observed the heat and light of this sylvan conflagration and noticed that under all circumstances flames go upwards and he named it "Agni",⁸ that which goes up. He probably understood that the energy in fire is the same as that in the lightning and sunshine and he concluded that the agent that has made it possible for life to live in this creation is also manifest in lightning and in the sun in heaven and the same energy comes down to the earth as Agni below.⁹

⁸ This is the derivative meaning of Agni.

⁹ R̥gv., I. 31. 3; I. 141. 3.

The god by whose grace the process became possible came to be designated as Mātariśvan¹⁰ in the R̥gveda. The sense of two or more objects in a state of collision is derived from the sense of the particular sound due thereto. The collision of clouds led to lightning and thunderous sound in the sky followed by a shower of rain. This probably led this primitive "Aryan Sage" to infer that fire resides in the water above the sky¹¹ and it has come down on earth under the priestly influence of Mātariśvan or god of lightning.¹² He exclaimed that the earth and heaven tremble at the thunderous voice of this priest of fire or Agni.¹³ But he could make no distinct idea of Mātariśvan. He observed that lightning is due to collision of wandering clouds, and this ancient observer found no difficulty in realising the fact that the power of moving on the part of clouds is due to wind. So by Mātariśvan he sometimes understood fire,¹⁴ and again lightning¹⁵ and again wind,¹⁶ all these being confused by association. He found Agni lurking in the waters and worshipped him in the waters¹⁷ but the belief that fire is something distinct from all these and is similar to sun and lightning came to be deep rooted in him.¹⁸ He concluded

¹⁰ R̥gv., III. 9. 5.; VI. 8. 4.

¹¹ R̥gv., VI. 8. 4.; X. 46. 2; X. 32. 6.

¹² R̥gv., I. 2. 13; I. 60. 1; I. 93. 6; I. 128. 2; III. 9. 5; VI. 8. 4.

¹³ R̥gv., I. 31. 3.

¹⁴ R̥gv., I. 96. 4; III. 5. 9. III. 26. 2.

¹⁵ Vedic Mythology, p. 72.

¹⁶ R̥gv., III. 29. 11; Vedic Mythology, p. 72.

¹⁷ R̥gv., II. 4. 2. X. 46. 2.

¹⁸ R̥gv., I. 31. 3.

that the fire in heaven (in the sun) has descended down on the earth under the priesthood of Mātariśvan the messenger of the sun.¹⁹ This primitive Aryan sage found out that the life of fire depends on fuel,²⁰ clarified butter²¹ and oil.²² He pondered over it and collecting fire (Agnichayana) from a sylvan conflagration developed the method and technique of keeping it burning by adding fuels to it. The sacred task of keeping the fire was next entrusted to the family of Āyu.²³ This august "ancient aryan sage" was named Bhṛgu because he had invented a luminous body.²⁴ This in brief is perhaps the history of the invention of fire by Bhṛgu.

Atharvan probably noticed that sometimes it happens that big trees or their branches being tossed to and fro by wind often violently collide, catch fire and sometimes in this way the whole forest may be set to conflagration. But sometimes it happens that in this process, without burning fire being produced, a latent fire catches a dry trunk near by and secretly eats into it.²⁵ He might have noticed that when dry leaves fall on it, burning fire is at once lighted. Once he perhaps brought some dry leaves of the lotus in contact with such a hidden fire for experiment and successfully invented his own method.²⁶ It was

¹⁹ Rgv., VI. 8. 4.

²⁰ Rgv., II. 7. 6; Vedic Mythology, Art. Agni.

²¹ Rgv., VII. 3. 1; II. 7. 6; X. 69. 2; III. 21. 1; V. 11. 3. etc.; Vedic Mythology, p. 89.

²² A.V., I. 7. 2.

²³ Rgv., II. 4. 2. Cp. 4; Vedic Mythology, p. 140.

²⁴ Vedic Mythology, p. 140.

²⁵ Rgv., I. 70. 4; II. 1. 1; Vedic Mythology, p. 92.

²⁶ Rgv., VI. 16. 13.

perhaps in this way that a better process of collecting fire (Agnichayana) was discovered. The greatest disadvantage of the method of collecting fire discovered by Bhṛgu is that it depends entirely on chance. Lightning and roaring of clouds in the rainy season is required to end in effective thunder and subsequent conflagration of the forest thereof is essential for it. But how many lightnings end in thunder? and how many thunders set the forest to conflagration? It was no doubt dangerous to keep the fire burning in a primitive cottage for any inadvertence might set it to fire. On the other hand it was equally dangerous to allow once collected fire to be put out. But the world was full of forests in that age and the kind of hidden fire discovered by Atharvan could perhaps be found out as common occurrences. Now it was much easier to kindle fire by putting dry leaves in contact with hidden fire in the forest and subsequently perhaps also from the hidden fire at home,—the remains of once burning fire, put out accidentally, under ashes. So both the processes of collecting fire and keeping it at home became easier. This was probably the process discovered by the first Atharvan.

But the method of getting fire, invented probably by Angiras brought about a revolution in the history of Aryan civilisation. He probably noticed that fire produced in the forest is due nothing but to forceful and intimate collision of two trees or branches. He might have further noticed that some trees are more combustible and vulnerable to catch fire in such collision. He perhaps argued that when it was possible to get fire in the forest in that way, why it

would not be possible to kindle fire at home by artificially rubbing two pieces of wood. Necessity is the mother of invention. The ancient Aryan had already learnt the usefulness and control of fire. So a desire to get fire at will artificially was apparent. The first Aṅgiras might have noticed that the combustibility of the Aśvattha (pipul) wood is very remarkable. The Aśvattha grows as parasite on other big trees. Probably the Śamī, one such big tree, grew in large number in ancient India. This parasite Aśvattha, growing on large Śamī trees would naturally be moved more forcefully by the wind and the collision of such two plants would consequently be more violent and intimate. We have a reference of the Śamī in the Mahābhārata.²⁷ During the year of exile of the Pāṇḍavas incognito Arjuna hung his bow and quiver on the top branch of a Śamī tree. The passers-by took it for a dead body possessed by a ghost. This may be accounted for the great height where it was put. The association of the Aśvattha with the Śamī might have contributed to it. The Aśvattha is proverbially the abode of ghosts to the Hindu mind. Anyhow the first Aṅgiras perhaps collected wood from the Aśvattha growing on a Śamī tree²⁸ as parasite and contrived to shape them into such an instrument as it might be possible to rub them against each other violently and intimately. The experiment was successful and the instrument and process are

²⁷ Mbh., Virāṭaparva. ch. 6.

²⁸ According to the strict laws of the śāstras the wood to construct the Araṇi must be gathered from the Aśvattha growing as a parasite on the Śamī tree.

the so famous Araṇi and Manthana.²⁹ This was probably the process discovered by Aṅgiras and perhaps the first success to kindle fire artificially by the Aryans.³⁰ It must be mentioned that we have reference in the R̥gveda that Indra could produce fire by striking a stone against another.³¹

Self-protection on the part of individuals was probably a main cause of the growth of primitive

²⁹ R̥gv., V. 11. 6. see Fn. 30.

³⁰ The three processes described above with the three names has not always been clearly mentioned in the texts. The connection between Bhṛgu and Mātariśvan leaves little doubt that he collected fire from some conflagration caused by lightning. Dr. Kuhun and Dr. Barth were also of the opinion that the name of Bhṛgu is connected with lightning. Dr. Kuhn: Herabkunft des Feuers Und des Göttertranks, pp. 9-14; Vedic Mythology, p. 140.

Atharvan kindled fire by rubbing leaves of the plant Lotus: Tamagne puṣkarādadyatharvā nīramanthata.

Mūrdhno viśvasya vādhatā (R̥gv., VI. 16. 13.)

Sāyaṇa says, "Puṣkara" means *Puṣkaraparna*,—leaves of the Lotus plant. (see his Bhāṣya to above).

It is not experimentally possible to kindle fire in this way. Probably he kindled fire by rubbing or bringing in close contact, such leaves against hidden fire, a process that might have been hitherto unknown. Fire has been called "Embryo of trees (R̥gv., I. 7°, 4.) or of trees as well as plants (R̥gv., II. 1. 1.), there may be a side glance at the fire produced in forests by the friction of the boughs of trees". Vedic Mythology, p. 92.

Aṅgiras knew how to kindle fire by rubbing two pieces of wood:

Tvamagne Aṅgiraso guhā hitamanvavindañchhiśriyāṇaṁ vanevane.

Sa jāyase mathyamānaḥ sahomahattvāmāhuḥ Sahasasputra-maṅgiraḥ.

(R̥gv., V. 11. 6.)

Sāyaṇa says (see his bhāṣya on the above), that "vane vane" is means "vrikṣe vrikṣe", in every tree. Aṅgiras is undoubtedly most intimately connected with Agni in all scriptures,—even in the R̥gveda. He is often identical with Agni. It can reasonably be concluded that it was he who first kindled fire artificially.

³¹ R̥gv., II. 12. 3.

family, clan, tribe or society. But after the discovery of the art of kindling fire and controlling it, the primitive Aryans probably began to gather round the fire oftener for protection against cold or other reasons. The exchange of views began to be more frequent and intimate. In their barbarous life, they probably lived on fruits, roots or other uncooked food. Perchance some of them, attracted by its fragrance, might have tasted the flesh of a half-burnt carcass caught in some conflagration. It probably pleased him. It was perhaps the first step to the art of cooking and in this way every home began to have a hearth. They began to gather round the fire while cooking, eating, taking rest and in winter while sleeping as well. The ancient Aryans already felt that there is a law of cause and effect at the bottom of phenomenon and that this cause and effect is again guided by the supreme will of some supernatural being which they designated as *Devatā*. They already worshipped a host of such gods. Now, amongst other gods Agni carved out a place and hymns began to be sung in his praise. Nay, very soon he surpassed other gods for is not the *Ṛksamhitā* preeminently a collection of songs of the fire-lore? Probably in such an atmosphere and mental environment, some Aryan leader, some ancient forefather Manu, surrounded by a council of seven great 'sages' around a hearth introduced the family custom of collecting and keeping fire (*Agnichayana* and *Agnirakṣā*).³² Along with this new god Agni, the fire-priests also

³² *Ṛgv.*, X. 63. 7.

occupied very prominent position in the ancient Aryan society.

The antiquity of Angiras

It will naturally be asked, how old is the first Bhṛgu, Atharvan or Angiras. The history of ancient Aryan civilisation may be conveniently divided into three periods: (1) The Indo-European age,—the age during which the ancestors of the modern European Aryans, those of Persian and Indian Aryans used to live together. In one word, when the Aryans were not divided but lived together. (2) The Indo-Iranian age,—the age during which the ancestors of the modern European Aryans left their home and migrated to Europe while the ancestors of the Persians and Indians continued to live together. (3) The Indo-Aryan age,—in which the ancient Persian Aryans and Indo-Aryans became separated and occupied their respective countries. It is also known as Ṛgvedic age. During the Indo-European age, the Aryan civilisation was not much developed or moulded into a definite shape with the result that this civilisation was greatly influenced by other civilisations existing in Europe at the time and subsequently and the ancient Aryans of Europe could not build up a culture like that we find in the Ṛgveda or the Āvestā.

During the Indo-Iranian age the Aryan civilisation took a definite shape. The custom of praying to Agni and other gods, debating on right and wrong and other abstract knowledge became deep-rooted in the society. As a matter of fact, we find that gods

of the same nature with the same qualities and names are being prayed to both in the Ṛgveda and the Āvestā.³³ In other cases though the names vary, the attributes of gods are the same in both these sacred books, for example, Agni, Atar, Varuṇa and Ahuramajda. Probably internecine quarrel due to difference in religious faith is the cause of their separation. We can trace the germs of the causes of this quarrel between the Devas and the Asuras both in the Ṛgveda and the Āvestā, though it has been described in some detail in the Purāṇas. Some scholars are of opinion that this fight between the Devas and Asuras are but another name of the fight between the Aryans and the Non-Aryans. But this conclusion is contrary to facts, for the prominent gods of the Ṛgveda like Varuṇa, Indra, Marut, Dyau, Tvaṣṭā, Puṣā, Agni and other Aryan gods of the Ṛgvedic age have been designated as Asuras.³⁴ In the stories of the Purāṇas as well the Asuras or Daityas are children of Kaśyapa and Diti³⁵ whereas the Devas are children of Kaśyapa and Aditi.³⁶ The Deva, Vāyu—god of motion and the Daitya king Hiraṇyakaśipu were uterine brothers;³⁷ on the other hand, Indra, the king of gods is but their step-brother.³⁸ It may be noted that both Diti and Aditi, mothers of Asuras and Devas are daughters of King Dakṣa.³⁹ Prahlāda, the king

³³ Vedic Mythology, pp. 7-8.

³⁴ Ibid, p. 156.

³⁵ See any Purāṇa.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid. See the story how Indra contrived to slay Vāyu in the embryo out of jealousy.

³⁹ Ibid.

of the Asuras and son of Hiranyakaśipu⁴⁰ is a pillar of modern Hinduism. The original meaning of the word Asura is all powerful,—of immeasurable strength.⁴¹ But afterwards it began to signify a nonbeliever and enemy of the Devas.⁴² Probably a group of Aryans could not be converted into the new Indra-cult of another group of Aryans—the Devas and remained conservative to their older faith, the Asura cult; hence the latter meaning. Then again, Ahuramajda of the *Āvestā*, the Persian equivalent of Asura, is their almighty, omnipotent and omniscient God;⁴² while Indra, the most prominent god of the *Ṛgveda* is a target of hostile attack in the *Āvestā*.⁴³ In this way many an evidence can be traced in both these sacred books that indicate their differences in religious faith. It is no wonder or impossibility that the sage *Angiras* the powerful and famous incarnation of fire, as it were, of the *Ṛgveda* figures as the contemptible *Angramanyu*⁴⁴ in the *Āvesta*. In the *Ṛgveda*, *Angiras* is a bosom friend of Indra⁴⁵ and they were partners in the victory of many a tough fight⁴⁶ and in the solution of many a thorny engagement. Not only that, in the *Purāṇas*, *Brhaspati*, son of *Angiras*, is the accredited and adorable preceptor of the gods.⁴⁷ In all probability, there was a tough fight between the Aryans

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Vedic Mythology, p. 156.

⁴² Vedic Mythology, p. 156. SBE, IV, pp. 139, 224; V. p. 10; Mythology of all races, VI.

⁴³ SBE, IV.

⁴⁴ SBE, XLII, pp. 4-10, 139, 224; XXIII. p. 29.

⁴⁵ *Rgv.*, X. 62. 1; Vedic Mythology, p. 142.

⁴⁶ Vedic Mythology, p. 142.

⁴⁷ See any *Purāṇa*.

of the Asura cult and the Aryans of the Indra cult or the Devas, and the great sage and ancient personality Aṅgiras took the side of the followers of the Indra cult. It is perhaps for this reason that the *Āvestā*, the sacred book of the Asuras records such hostile reference about Aṅgiras.⁴⁸ In the *Atharvaveda*, the family book of the Bhṛguś, Atharvans and the Aṅgirasas, we find Aṅgiras as an expert in the black magic of doing injury to others.⁴⁹ This performance, though it may do good to one party is believed to harm the other and is very obnoxious to them, but they are believed to be impotent against these spells and odds. So though Atharvan means an honourable priest in the *Āvestā*⁵⁰, Aṅgramanyu or Aṅgiras is a target of contempt. Manyu in the *Ṛgveda* means wrath, anger;⁵¹ he is the wrath of Indra. "He is of inexistentible might and self existent",⁵² and slayer of Vṛtra along with others. Probably Aṅgiras and Manyu of the *Ṛgveda* have been personified as Aṅgramanyu in the *Āvestā*. Now-a-days, at least some portions of the *Atharvaveda* are believed to be older than the *Ṛgveda* and there is striking similarity between these two ancient scriptures. The *Āvestā* also contains reference to the art of kindling fire by 'Araṇi-manthana'.⁵³ There is no doubt that the Aryans of the Indo-Iranian period had the knowledge of the usefulness of such objects as require knowledge of

⁴⁸ Aṅgramanyu is the "Satan" of the *Āvestā*.

⁴⁹ SBE, XLII, Introduction.

⁵⁰ SBE, IV. p. 100.

⁵¹ *Rgv.*, X. 83 and 84.

⁵² *Vedic Mythology*, p. 119.

⁵³ SBE. Op. cit.

fire and its use. So it may be fairly concluded that the original fire-priests and their descendants lived in the Indo-Iranian age. (See Weber IS, II, p. 291 ff).

As Agni is (Āgun) in colloquial Bengali, so 'Ogni' of the ancient slavs were called (Ogun) by their latter descendants.⁵⁴ In Latin, Agni is Ignis. Both the slavs and the Romans are branches of the ancient Aryans. These words philologically have affinity with the Sanskrit Agni. Dr. Kuhn⁵⁵ thinks that the Greek words Phlegyai, Aggelos and Prometheus are genetically related to Sanskrit Bhṛgu, Aṅgiras and Pramanthana. He thinks that the name of the Greek fire priest Phoeneus is derived from the Sanskrit Bhuanya⁵⁶—a name of Agni. The Greek root 'Pherin' means to carry, to bear or to bring. The story of the Greek mythology relating how Prometheus brought fire from heaven is similar to that of Mātariśvan of the Ṛgveda. From those observations of comparative philology and mythology it is evident that the fire-priest Aṅgiras lived in the Indo-European age. This great antiquity is probably the cause of conflict of opinion about Aṅgiras and the Fire-priests in ancient literature.

Aṅgiras and the Japanese Fire-god Akeira

Scholars think that the Japanese Fire-god Akeira is no other than Aṅgiras of the Aryans. Akeira is red, holds two lotuses in two hands and above them

⁵⁴ Vaṅgiya Mahākoṣa Art. Agni.

⁵⁵ Vedic Mythology, pp. 140, 143; Frazer; Myths of the origin of fire, p. 196.

⁵⁶ Myths of the origin of fire, p. 196.

two pots like those used in Hindu worship. He has close similarity with Agni.⁵⁷

Āṅgiras in the Vedas

We have discussed about the hoary antiquity of Āṅgiras. So one need not wonder about the diversity of opinions about this ancient sage in the Vedas and other sacred books. The Āṅgirasas of the pre-historic age are descendants of an Āṅgiras who flourished at a time still earlier.⁵⁸ Poets speak of them as 'fathers'⁵⁹ 'our Fathers',⁶⁰ 'Our Ancient fathers'.⁶¹ These⁶² prehistoric Āṅgirasas now (at the time of the Ṛgveda) live in heaven along with Nābhāga, Atharvan, Bhṛgu and other ancient sages.⁶³ Yama, the king of Death rules there and every one is to join them there after death.⁶⁴ In this psalm of life the Ṛgvedic sages pray to Yama that he, accompanied by his father Vivasvat, and Varuṇa, Āṅgiras, Nābhāga, Atharvan, Bhṛgu, Kāvya and other renowned sages, should come to them, sit on the green grass, accept their offerings and drink Soma.⁶⁵ These Āṅgirasas in heaven are sons of heaven⁶⁶ or sons of God.⁶⁷ It was Āṅgiras who had discovered Agni, who carries sacri-

⁵⁷ Hobogirin, I. P. 19.

⁵⁸ Vedic Mythology, p. 142.

⁵⁹ Rgv., X. 62. 2.

⁶⁰ Rgv., I. 71. 2.

⁶¹ Rgv., I. 62. 2.

⁶² Vedic Mythology, p. 142.

⁶³ Rgv., X. 14. This sūkta is a literary monument of the Vedic literature.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Rgv., III. 53. 7; X. 67. 2.; Cp. 4. 2. 15

⁶⁷ Rgv., X. 62. 4.

fices of the performer from the earth to heaven, in the woods.⁶⁸ It was they who introduced the ordinances of sacrifice⁶⁹ and performing it themselves became immortals like the Devas⁷⁰ and gained the friendship of Indra. The poet has not hesitated to describe Indra, the most powerful god of the R̥gveda as the Chief Aṅgiras (Aṅgirastama).⁷¹ These Aṅgirasas live in heaven along with the celestial gods like Āditya, Vasu, Marut, Rudra and others according to the seers of these sūktas.⁷² Aṅgiras, the inventor of the fire-cult, was taken as the emblem of Agni,⁷³ and was himself worshipped as God—Agni.⁷⁴ He became a partner of Soma along with these gods to whom Soma is to be offered.⁷⁵ The seers began to offer Soma to him and he was worshipped as a Devas: cf. R v. X. 62.

*Angiras and the Fight between the Devas
and the Paṇis*

In the R̥gvedic age, there was a class of rich merchants named “Paṇi”. They lived near the sea-shore or on the banks of the rivers. They knew how to build vessels and ships and on board the ship, they traded in far off countries by the sea routes.⁷⁶

⁶⁸ R̥gv., V. 11. 6.

⁶⁹ R̥gv., X. 67. 2.

⁷⁰ R̥gv., X. 62. 1.

⁷¹ R̥gv., I. 100. 4; I. 130. 3.

⁷² R̥gv., VII. 44. 4; VIII. 35. 14; A. V. XI. 8. 13.

⁷³ R̥gv., I. 75. 2; I. 31. 17; I. 127. 2; VI. 11. 3; X. 92. 15.

⁷⁴ R̥gv., III. 53. 7; X. 62; SBE., XIII. 102, 108; XXVI.

118; XLI. 225, 279; XLVI. 1. 92, 95., 327, 348, 385, 389, 391, 412.

⁷⁵ R̥gv., IX. 62. 9.

⁷⁶ Dr. A. C. Das; R̥gvedic India, p. 100.

They used to live in cities surrounded by walls⁷⁷ and were very greedy and selfish. They worshipped their god Bala.⁷⁸ They did not recognise the supremacy of Indra, would oppose the fire-worshipping Aryans and never hesitated to disturb them in their sacrifices. They knew the usefulness of cow and could prepare delicious sweets from milk. They would sometimes steal the cattle of the Aryans, carried them far off on board their vessels in safe places where they could not easily be detected.⁷⁹ On the other hand, the ancient Aryans were beef-eaters. The Āngirasas often demanded cows and bulls to the settlers, both Aryans and non-aryans, and if refused, did not hesitate to take by force or set fire to the houses of these settlers.⁸⁰ For all these reasons, quarrel soon broke out between them, and the fire-worshipping Aryans made up their mind to punish the Paṇis under the leadership of the fire-priest Āngiras and Indra. The divine spy Saramā⁸¹ crossed rivers and marshes and found out the cattle concealed by them and asked them to return them to her masters. But the Paṇis would pay no heed to it, made insulting remarks against the fire-worshipping Aryans and

⁷⁷ Rajeswar Gupta; History of R̥gveda, p. 23; R̥gv., VI.

18. 15.

⁷⁸ R̥gvedic India, p. 192.

⁷⁹ R̥gv., X. 108, 67, 68, etc.

⁸⁰ History of R̥gveda, pp. 20-21.

⁸¹ R̥gv., X. 108.

There has been a controversy whether Saramā was a dog or a human spy. It may be pointed out that Dr. Macdonell's opinion is very weighty. The word Sārameya means dog. It is derived by adding the Taddhita pratyaya "Sneya" after Saramā to mean her offsprings. Probably she was a dog divinised. See Vedic Mythology, p. 151.

dismissed Saramā.⁸² Saramā warned them that they would have to repent for it⁸³ and returned. Soon after, the fire worshipping Aryans marched against them and attacked them under the leadership of Āngiras.⁸⁴ The Paṇis were utterly defeated, their houses were set fire to,⁸⁵ many of them were killed and much more imprisoned. The Aryans demolished the temple of their god Bala⁸⁶ and hoisted the victorious flag of Indra. As a result of this battle, the Paṇis were expelled from their own home and settled on the western coast of the Deccan. As a matter of fact, the Āngirasas were the counsels and leaders of the Aryans in their campaign and adventure for quest of land and properties. In course of time, when the glory of Indra began to fade away the fame and prowess of the Āngirasas came to be manifested all the more.

*Āngiras and the Contest between the Devas
and Asuras*

In the contest between the Devas and Asuras also, the Āngirasas figure as the principal advisers and preceptors of the Devas. The particular Āngiras, who counselled and helped the Deva or Indra worshipping Aryans is well known as Bṛhaspati. This war was due to cultural and religious differences and was as terrible and destructive as the famous battle of Kurukṣetra of the later days. The Asura worshippers though powerful and warlike, were defeated

⁸² Rgv., X. 108.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Rgv., X. 62. IV. 3. 11; X. 108; 6,

⁸⁵ Rgv., VII. 9. 2.

⁸⁶ Rgv., II. 15. 8. X. 67. 6.

at the end by the Deva-worshippers, whose preceptor Aṅgiras (Bṛhaspati) was so well versed in diplomacy and black-magic. Many of them left their fatherland, settled in Persia and built up their own civilisation⁸⁷ while others were merged with the victors. Although the god worshippers proved victors in this contest, their religion underwent a total transformation. Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa and even Agni lost their exalted position and homages. On the other hand Bṛhaspati, son of Aṅgiras, came to be honoured preceptors of the Devas. In the beginning the Aṅgirasas used to worship Indra, next, we find them as friend of Indra, but Bṛhaspati became the adorable Guru of the Devas. Henceforward, the Hindus came to know of a supreme Almighty Being, who, though Himself cannot be perceived by the senses, is the cause of the strength and capacity of gods like Indra, Agni and others.⁸⁸ The spread of this new cult struck at the root of the religions of sacrificing priests afterwards. The Purāṇas of much later days, unanimously record the ancient tradition that the Devas were, mostly Vaiṣṇavas⁸⁹ and the Asuras, Śaivas⁹⁰ though there are exceptions. Probably the cults of Viṣṇu and Śiva became prevalent and the prominent personalities of the Ṛgveda lost ground for ever. It must be remembered that both Viṣṇu⁹¹ and Śiva

⁸⁷ *Rgvedic India*, pp. 146-165, 166-179.

⁸⁸ *Kenopaniṣad*. Ch. III and IV.

⁸⁹ See the *Purāṇas*. Most of the Asuras were killed by Viṣṇu.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*. The Indus valley civilisation shows that Aryan or non-aryan in origin, Śaivism is probably the oldest worship in India.

⁹¹ *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 37-42.

(Rudra)⁹² occupy honourable positions in the R̥gveda though none of them are supreme there.

Āngiras in the Atharvaveda

The Āngirasas were very closely connected with the Royal court from the very beginning. The priests in those ancient days had to be Odymaths—well versed in all manner of subjects. All kinds of functions, from purely priestly ones like worship, sacrifice and so on to atonements, confessions on the one hand, and from diplomacy, advice in practical politics—how to chastise an enemy and how to escape being chastised on the contrary, to matters of day-to-day government on the other hand, were entrusted to them. Not only that, they must know the remedies to cure the royal families of their disease and these in those days covered wide field of knowledge from that of herbs to magic spells. In one word they had to be omniscient. As royal priests and preceptors, the Āngirasas had to perform all these miscellaneous miracles and we can learn a good deal of the nature of these functions from their family scriptures, the Atharvaveda most of whose texts occupy Mantras, and syllables on these topics. We can know that while the name of the sage Atharvan is associated with things humanitarian, the name of Āngiras is associated on the contrary with horrible and terrible attacks and revenges⁹³; why not?—they were the counsellors and advisers of the victories over the Paṇis and the Asuras.

⁹² Ibid, pp. 74-77.

⁹³ SBE., XLII. Introduction.

The Family of Āṅgirā in the Vedas

In connection with fire-priests, we have discussed in detail references relating to three Sages, Bhṛgu, Atharvan and Āṅgiras. In many places of the sacred texts, their names are so connected to suggest that they were intimately related. The terms like "Atharvanāṅgirasa", "Bhṛgvāṅgirasa"⁹⁴ denote such relations. A point to be noted is why the names of only three seers are connected with the Atharvaveda instead of seven (Saptarṣi) or many seers. We have reasons to believe that these three belonged to the same family. In the Chūlikopaniṣad of the Atharvaveda, the Atharvans are described as chief of the Bhṛgu (Atharvanaḥ Bhṛgūttamāḥ).⁹⁵ On the strength of strong and reliable evidences, Mr. Pargiter proves that the Atharvans and the Āṅgirasas belonged to the same family. He says, "A remarkable point is that the genealogy gives the first Āṅgirasa the name Atharvan and makes Atharvan-Āṅgirasa the progenitor of all the Āṅgirasas, so that 'Atharvan' and 'Āṅgirasa' become equivalent and they may all be designated Atharvanāṅgirasa".⁹⁶ We have the reference of an ancient sage Dadhyaṇi. In the Ṛgveda, he is a son of Atharvan and his name occurs several times in the Vedic texts in connection with the art of kindling fire.⁹⁷ In the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, too, he is described

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Chulikopaniṣad, Verse, 10 See R. S. Satyasray: Origin of the Chālukyās, p. 67.

⁹⁶ F. E. Pargiter: Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 218.

⁹⁷ Ṛgv., I. 116. 12.; I. 117. 22; VI. 16. 14.

as the son of Atharvan.⁹⁸ But in the *Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, he is an *Āṅgīrasa*—a son or descendant of *Āṅgīras*.⁹⁹ He is the *Dadhīchi* of the later days, and as the *Purāṇic* mythology tells, it was from his bones that *Indra's* thunderbolt or *Vajra* was made in order to kill the demon *Vṛtra*. He is a *Bhārgava*—a son of *Bhṛgu* in this story.¹⁰⁰ In the story of *Sunaḥśepha* of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, his father *Ajigarta* is an *Āṅgīrasa*¹⁰¹—descendant of *Āṅgīras*. But in the same story, told in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇas*, *Sunaḥśepha's* father *Ṛchika* is a descendant of *Bhṛgu*.¹⁰² The famous sage *Chyavana* is popularly known as a son of *Bhṛgu*¹⁰³, but in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* he is simultaneously both a *Bhārgava* and *Āṅgīrasa*.¹⁰⁴ The great sage *Mārkaṇḍeya* is popularly known as the descendant of *Bhṛgu*, but in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, he is an *Āṅgīrasa* or descendant of *Āṅgīras*.¹⁰⁵ The famous poet *Uśanas* or *Sukrāchārya* belonged to the family of *Kavi*. But in the *Purāṇas* he is a son of *Bhṛgu*¹⁰⁶ while in the *Manusmṛitā*, *Kavi* is a son of *Āṅgīras*.¹⁰⁷ The famous *Hārīta* is a disciple of *Āṅgīras* in almost all texts, but in the *Hārītasamhitā* he is *Bhār-*

⁹⁸ Dr. A. B. Keith; *Veda of the Black Yajus school* (translated), pp. 288, 293, 395.

⁹⁹ *Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XII. 8. 6; SBE. XLII. Introduction, p. 27 fn.

¹⁰⁰ See *Purāṇas*.

¹⁰¹ *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 33. 3.

¹⁰² *Rāmāyaṇa*—I. 61-62; JRAS, 1917, pp. 37-67.

¹⁰³ See the *Purāṇas*.

¹⁰⁴ *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*—IV. 1. 5. 1.; SBE., Vol. 26. Introduction, p. 27.

¹⁰⁵ *Matsyapurāṇa*—Ch. 167, 43.

¹⁰⁶ See any *Purāṇa*.

¹⁰⁷ SBE., XXV. p. 58.

gava.¹⁰⁸ Bhṛgu himself is a son of Varuṇa in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.¹⁰⁹ Both Atharvan and Aṅgiras are also connected with Varuṇa. Aṅgiras is of course more connected with Yama, but Yama and Varuṇa are related. In one Purāṇa, Aṅgiras is a son of a certain Chākṣuṣamanu. Manu again is a son of Āditya (Sun). In the Vedas, Varuṇa is one of the Ādityas. The Matsya Purāṇa tells us these relations plainly and unequivocally. According to it, Bhṛgu had a son named Atharvan and his son was Aṅgiras.¹¹⁰ In the Ṛgveda, Bhṛgu, Atharvan and Aṅgiras are the three principal fire-priests.¹¹¹ Most probably the art and science of kindling fire were invented and developed by the same family and Bhṛgu, Atharvan and Aṅgiras are but three renowned persons of this family.

A good number of sages and seers of the Ṛgveda are known to have been descendants of Aṅgiras. Such were Abhivarta, Amahiya, Āyāśya, Uchathya, Ūru, Ūrdhvasadmā, Kutsa, Kṛtayasa, Kṛṣṇa, Gṛtsamada, Ghora, Tiraśchi, Divya, Dharuṇa, Dhruva, Nṛmedha, Pavitra, Purumidha, Purumedha, Puruhatmā, Pūṭadakṣa, Prachetas, Prabhuvasu, Priyamedha, Bṛhanmati, Bṛhaspati, Bhikṣu, Mūrdhāvat, Rāhugaṇa, Varu, Vasurochiṣa, Vindu, Virūpa, Vihavya, Vīṭahavya, Vyāśva, Śiśu, Śaunahotra, Śrautakakṣa, Saṁvaraṇa, Saṁvarta, Sagupta, Savya, Sukakṣa, Suditi, Harimanta, Hiranya-

¹⁰⁸ Hārītasamhitā—V.

¹⁰⁹ Aitareya Brāhmaṇa—III. 2. 13. 10; Vedic Mythology, p. 140.

¹¹⁰ Matsyapurāṇa—Ch. 51, 10.

¹¹¹ Dr. A. B. Keith: Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas, pp. 223-226.

stūpa.¹¹² Of them, twenty-three are vedic seers.¹¹³ Buddhadeva, the famous founder of Buddhism, belonged to an Aṅgiras Gotra. His personal name was Gautama-Siddhārtha. Gautama is a patronymic. Gautama was a son of Aṅgiras. It has been definitely mentioned in the Vinaya-piṭaka¹¹⁴ that the great saviour was an Aṅgirasa. In reality, he was a scion of the Śākya family. His another name was Sākyasiṃha. This family was a branch of the Solar dynasty. Probably the Śākyas were Kevalāṅgirasa of the Gautama gotra.

Aṅgiras in the Purāṇas

Many a fable have been coined on the story of Aṅgiras in the Purāṇas. In the vedic age, nay even in the Indo-European age, the Aryans believed that they were descendants of an ancient forefather "MANU".¹¹⁵ Words like Mānava, man etc., in various languages of the Aryan group, no doubt, prove it. Some Purāṇas have, of course, supported this belief. According to them Aṅgiras was born of Ūru, son of Chākṣuṣa-Manu and Nadvalā and of Āgneyi.¹¹⁶ But Brahmā is believed to be the progenitor of all creation by the authors of the Purāṇas and he is said to be the grandfather of every body. As we have already seen, he was born of the lotus at the navel of Nārāyaṇa, lying in the ocean of milk and

¹¹² See Ṛgveda (Professor Maxmuller's edition), Index of R̥sis.

¹¹³ Dr. Weber: Indische Studien, pp. 291-297.

¹¹⁴ SBE., XIII. p. 122.

¹¹⁵ Vedic Mythology, pp. 14-15.

¹¹⁶ Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa—Ch. 68. 92; Matsyapurāṇa—Ch. 4. 43., Harivaṃśa—2. 29.

desirous of progeny, he created the seven great sages. The whole of the creation is said to be descended from them. According to some Purāṇas, these seven or nine sages were born of the mind of Brahmā.¹¹⁷ But the Mahābhārata and some of the Purāṇas not satisfied with these legends of creation, introduced an interesting episode which runs as follows:¹¹⁸

Once god Rudra (Śiva) assumed the form Vārūni, and made up his mind to perform a sacrifice. The gods and goddesses came to see the performance. At the sight of the beautiful wives and daughters of the gods, Brahmā lost control over his passion and cast his semen which was thrown into the sacrificial fire by the Sun God and thereupon out of the flames sprang into being Bhṛgu, out of the burning charcoal Aṅgiras, out of the smokeless charcoal, Kavi. In the same way the other Ṛṣis—Marīchi, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha and Vasiṣṭha were born. Now arose a quarrel among Brahmā, Rudra and Agni as to who was their father and who should get them and it was ultimately decided by the gods that Vārūni or Rudra should get Bhṛgu, Agni should get Aṅgiras and Brahmā should get Kavi and it is why Bhṛgu is known as Vārūṇa; Aṅgiras as Āgneya; and Kavi as Brāhma. But the originality of this story and the idea of the birth of Aṅgiras from Aṅgāra or charcoal should better be credited to the author of an earlier work, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.¹¹⁹ There the story runs thus: Prajāpati was charmed

¹¹⁷ Padmapurāṇa, Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa. Ch. 3. 167-68; Śivapurāṇa I. 6.; MBH., I. 65. 10; I. 66. 4., Viṣṇupurāṇa—I. 7. 4-5.

¹¹⁸ MBH., XIII. 132. 20; Vāyupurāṇa—Ch. 65; Matsya-purāṇa—Ch. 95.

¹¹⁹ Aitareyabrāhmaṇa—III. 13. 9-10.

by the beauty of his daughter, Ūṣā and both of them wandered in heaven by taking the guise of a buck and a doe. The Devas were much afraid when they found it out for they thought that none had done such a heinous crime before. At length they created a terrible god, Bhūtavan and he cut the head of these criminals. The heads of these buck and doe still exist in heaven as the stars "Mṛgaśīras and Rohiṇī". As he was the conqueror of the beasts, this hero was named Paśuman by the gods. The semen of the creator fell down on the earth and looked like an ocean. The Devas exclaimed, "Mā duṣat"—may it not be corrupted, and the sacred book is of the opinion that out of this expression was derived the word Mānuṣa or man. The Devas incubated the semen, Marut stirred it and Agni brought it to life. The first spark of fire that burnt out during the process was Āditya or Sun, the second was Bhṛgu and Varuṇa having adopted him, he became known as Vāruṇi. From the third spark, the other gods of the Āditya group were born, the semen that was burnt into charcoal brought out Aṅgiras into being. The story was no doubt imagined as a result of studies of the heavenly bodies, but afterwards it was believed.

The authors of the Purāṇas knew the tradition of the close connection of Agni and Aṅgīrās and some of them named him the son of Agni.¹²⁰ The author of the Mahābhārata fabricated another story in this connection.¹²¹

Once upon a time the god Agni, desirous of

¹²⁰ Vāyupurāṇa—Ch. 65. 42.

¹²¹ MBH., III. 216.

performing penance, remained merged in water. This diminished his brightness. On the other hand Āṅgiras, who was engaged in penance in his hermitage, became all the more luminous and Agni looked paler to him. But he could not find out the reason and thought that the creator Brahmā might have brought into existence, some other Agni. In his quest to find out the reason, he came into the hermitage of Āṅgiras. Āṅgiras could know his mind and consoled him saying, "Sire, the great creator out of kindness to his creation, created you to expel darkness, for the good of mankind. Do please realise your responsibility and go on with your duty." Agni replied, "I have lost my fame amongst mankind and you have assumed my status. You please take the first place, I shall be the second." But Āṅgiras politely replied, "Let you, as desired by the creator, do your function of carrying offerings of mankind to gods and thereby facilitate their salvation and if you are propitious to me, be pleased to grant me a boon that I may have a son." After this Bṛhaspati was born. This is, after all, an example of some sort of gossip round the tea pot of modern time.

The authors of the Purāṇas have been in great confusion about the names of the wives and children of Āṅgiras. It is evident that the existence of more than one Āṅgiras having been forgotten, the wives and children of a vast number of Āṅgirasas have been thrust upon one. The Indo-Aryans were no doubt polygamists. It is possible that any particular Āṅgiras of a certain story could have more than one wife. But from the names and addresses of these ladies,

it is natural to infer that they were related to different Āṅgirasas. According to the Bhāgavata,¹²² Āṅgiras's wife was Śraddhā. She was a daughter of Kardama by Devahūtī and sister of Kapila, Arundhatī, Anusuyā and other celebrated ladies.¹²³ In the Mahābhārata¹²⁴ Āṅgiras's wife is Śubhā and in the Viṣṇupurāṇa¹²⁵ she is Smṛti, daughter of King Dakṣa. In the Matsya Purāṇa¹²⁶ she is Surūpā, daughter of Marīchi and in the Brahma Purāṇa¹²⁷ she is Ātreyī, daughter of Agni. This particular Āṅgiras was very angry and rude and Ātreyī had to turn into the river Paruṣṇī in order to appease her husband. This river falls into the Ganges. According to some Purāṇas, Āṅgiras had two other wives of the name Satī and Śraddhā daughters of either Kaśyapa¹²⁸ or Dakṣa.¹²⁹ Many of these are no doubt giving Paul's property to Peter.

According to the Matsya Purāṇa¹³⁰, Āṅgiras had by Surūpā, daughter of Marīchi the "Somapāyī" Devas named Ātmā, Āyu, Damana, Dakṣa, Sadah, Prāṇa, Haviṣman, Gaviṣṭha, Rta, and Satya and the Ṛsis named Bṛhaspati, Gautama, Samvartam Uchathya, Vāmadeva, Āyāsyā and Uśija. We have already noticed about Mārkaṇḍeya. According to the Mahābhārata¹³¹ Āṅgiras had by Śubhā, Bṛhatkīrti, Bṛhatyoti, Bṛhat-

¹²² Bhāgavata—III. 12. 24; III. 24. 22.

¹²³ Ibid—III. 22. 23.

¹²⁴ MBH., III. 217. 1.

¹²⁵ Viṣṇupurāṇa—I. 7. 234.

¹²⁶ Matsyapurāṇa—Ch. 196-1.

¹²⁷ Brahmapurāṇa—

¹²⁸ Harivaṁśa.

¹²⁹ Bhāgavata, VI. 5.

¹³⁰ Matsyapurāṇa—Ch. 196. 1-5.

¹³¹ MBH., III. 217.

brahma, Bṛhatmana, Bṛhatmantra, Bṛhatbhāṣa, and Bṛhaspati and several daughters named Bhānumatī, Rāgā or Rākā, Sinīvālī, Archiṣmatī, Haviṣmatī, Māhiṣmatī, Kuhū or Ekānamśā. According to the Bhāgavata,¹³² Aṅgirā had by Śraddhā, four daughters of the name, Sinīvālī, Kuhū, Rākā, and Anumatī. According to the Harivaṁśa,¹³³ Aṅgiras had several sons of the name Satya, Chārudhiṣṇa, Uchathya, Dhṛtimat, Bṛhaspati, Mārkaṇḍeya, and Suchi. According to the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa¹³⁴ Aṅgiras had a cruel son, named Bhūti. The Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa¹³⁵ says that Aṅgiras had, by Smṛiti, Bharatāgni and Kīrtimanta. The sons and daughters of Aṅgiras were famous seers and scholars.

The daughters of Aṅgiras, too, were learned and famous. According to the Nirukta of Yāska, Sinīvālī, Rākā, Anumati and Kuhū were goddesses.¹³⁶ Another name of Kuhū is Ekānamśā.¹³⁷ Lately, Mr. J. C. Ghosh has established¹³⁸ that the female figure between Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in the Jagannātha temple of Puri is not that of Subhadrā, sister of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, but of Ekānamśā, the family deity of the Yādavas. Ekānamśā is another name of Gaurī, the celebrated spouse of Śiva. This is also the name of the learned daughter of Aṅgiras, and in the Nirukta, as we have seen, she is a goddess. The Yādavas were

¹³² Bhāgavata—IV. 1. 33-34.

¹³³ V ā. 9. 68-9.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 99-104.

¹³⁵ Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa—iii, 1. 20.

¹³⁶ Sir M. Monier-Williams: Indian Wisdom, p. 158. (Quoted from Dr. Muir.) Nirukta—X. 29. 31

¹³⁷ MBH.—III. 217. 8.

¹³⁸ JRASBL—II. (1936)—pp. 41-46.

disciples of the Āṅgirasas. Devakīputra Kṛṣṇa of the Chhāndogyaopaniṣad¹³⁹ learnt the secret of the doctrine of "Madhuvidyā" from an Āṅgirasa named Ghora and became self-sufficient. He is perhaps identical with the Epic Kṛṣṇa. Another Āṅgirasa, Garga¹⁴⁰ is the celebrated family-priest of the Yādavas. It is not impossible that Ekānamṣā, the daughter of Āṅgiras, was worshipped as Ekānamṣā the Mother of the Universe and she was in reality the family goddess of the Yādavas.

There is a story about Sāśvatī in the Ṛgveda.¹⁴¹ Cursed by the Devas, Asaṅga, son of Playoga, became impotent. It was too much for his wife Sāśvatī who practised austere penances and as a result, Asaṅga was restored to potency. Sāyaṇa says that Sāśvatī was a daughter of Āṅgiras.

Angiras as the Founder of a Family

The Purāṇas celebrate the expansion of the family of Āṅgiras and their deeds of fame. It is towards the end of the Vedic age that the sages got themselves organised according to the regulations and customs relating to Gotra and Pravara. One of these families is that of Āṅgiras. Many scions of the Kṣatriya Royal families of that age forsook wealth and dignity and became disciples of the Āṅgirasas in order to be initiated into the mysteries of the spiritual world, and these became, so to say, the members of the Āṅgiras family and came to be known to fame as Kevalāṅgirasas.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Chhāndogyaopaniṣad; III. 17. 6.

¹⁴⁰ MBH—I. 45. 26; Viṣṇupurāṇa—V. 6. 8-9.

¹⁴¹ Rgv., VIII—1. 34.

¹⁴² See Bhāṣya—(Prof. Maxmuller's Edition.)

“Hārīta and Viṣṇuvṛiddha of the solar race, and Mudgala, Kaṇva and Garga of the lunar race belong to this category.”¹⁴³ Two great seers of the Vedas, kings Māndhātā Ambarīṣa Yuvanāśva of the solar race were disciples of Aṅgiras.¹⁴⁴ We have already related the episodes of Kṛṣṇa, Devakīputra and the Yādavas.

Chentsal Rao describes the family of Aṅgiras thus:¹⁴⁵

The Kevalāṅgirasas of the Kaṇva, Mudgala, Saṅkṛti, Viṣṇuvṛiddha, Hārīta and other Gotras are grouped in the Bharadvāja Gaṇa. Mr. Pargiter thinks¹⁴⁶ that the particular Aṅgiras from whom Uchatya, Bṛhaspati and Saṁvarta are descended bore the name of Uśija and he was not really their brother.

So the descendants of Aṅgiras are classified under two Gaṇas—Bharadvāja and Gautama. According to some authorities, Garga is a son of Bhardvāja,¹⁴⁷ while according to others, he was a Kṣatriya sovereign.¹⁴⁸ The famous Gautama Buddha of the later days belong to the Gautama Gaṇa while the famous Vaiṣṇava doctor Rāmānuja belonged to the Hārīta Gotra¹⁴⁹ of the Kevalāṅgirasas. We have already noticed Kṛṣṇa, the supreme authority of the Hindus. The famous dynasties of the Chālukyas and of the Kadambas of Gujarat and the Deccan descended from

¹⁴³ F. E. Pargiter—Ancient Indian Historical Tradition. pp. 243-252.

¹⁴⁴ Ancient Indian Historical Tradition. p. 246 and 3.

¹⁴⁵ Gotra—Pravara—Nivandha—Kadamba.

¹⁴⁶ Ancient Indian Historical Tradition—pp. 160-162.

¹⁴⁷ Gotra—Pravara—Nibandha—Kadamba.

¹⁴⁸ A. I. H. T., p. 249.

¹⁴⁹ Origin of the Chālukyas, p. 94, see any life of Rāmānuja.

Hārīta¹⁵⁰ and the famous Vākāṭaka dynasty had its origin from Viṣṇuvṛiddha¹⁵¹ of the solar race who afterwards turned a Brāhmaṇa.¹⁵² The famous Sāṅkhya Philosopher, Pañchasikā, is a descendant of Hārīta and ancestor of the Chālukyas.¹⁵³ It may be noted, by the by, that the Brāhmaṇas, descended from the Kṣatriyas, are disciples of either Āṅgiras or Bhṛgu.¹⁵⁴

Āṅgiras and the expansion of the Indo-Aryans

One of the causes, which are lead to migration and colonisation, is the want of food and land due to multiplication of progeny, leading to suicidal quarrel. We have already narrated the battle between the Devas and the Paṇis and that between the Devas and the Asuras. The latter indicates religious differences. It was not possible for the Aryans for long to remain confined in the regions watered by the five rivers and they soon spread themselves to the fertile land watered by the Ganges and the Yamuna and in the regions corresponding to modern Gujarat and Sindh. The Āṅgirasas, too began to settle in the regions as priests of particular kings or independently on their own account.

We have seen that king Māndhātā of the solar race was a disciple of an Āṅgirasa and two of his descendants, Hārīta and Viṣṇuvṛiddha, bade farewell to

¹⁵⁰ Origin of the Chālukyas, pp. 79-94, 71.

¹⁵¹ See Dr. Fleet: Gupta inscriptions.

¹⁵² A. I. H. T., p. 246.

¹⁵³ Origin of the Chālukyas, p. 60.

¹⁵⁴ GPNIL., Introduction, p. iii AIHT., p. 245.

worldly life and became disciples of the Āṅgirasas. It is doubtful whether Māndhātā reigned in Ayodhyā or not.¹⁵⁵ But it is fairly suggestive that Hariśchandra reigned there. He¹⁵⁶ was childless and propitiated the god Varuṇa vowing that if a child is born, he would be sacrificed to the god. A son was born to him and was named Rohita. The fond father desisted from fulfilling his vows under many a pretext and it was only when he was attacked with Ascites under the divine curse that he made up his mind to fulfil his vows. Then came a new obstacle. Rohita would not consent to such an absurd proposal and one day he fled to the forest; and last of all, he bought Śunaḥśepha, the son of a penniless Brāhmaṇa of the name of Ajīgarta for a hundred cows and came back with him to offer him as a sacrifice in his stead. He being a Brāhmaṇa, was no doubt a better exchange; but he, too, escaped death, thanks to the influence of the sage Viśvāmitra, and settled with him under the name of Devarāta. This Ajīgarta, painted in the Aitareya Brahmana as a masculine form of Lady Macbeth, belonged to Āṅgiras family. Another Brāhmaṇa of the name of Āyāsyā took part in this sacrifice as one of the priests. He, too, belonged to the Āṅgiras family. From these data, it may be concluded that Āṅgirasas spread themselves upto Ayodhyā by this time. Rāma-chandra, during his exile, resided in the hermitage of a Bharadvāja near Prayāga¹⁵⁷—modern Allahabad.

¹⁵⁵ Dr. N. K. Dutt: *Aryanisation of India*. p. 145.

¹⁵⁶ See Rāmāyaṇa. Bālakāṇḍa 61-62. (The name of the king is Ambarīṣa here); for detail see JRAS, 1917.

¹⁵⁷ Rāmāyaṇa—II. 89. 91.

In the Rāmāyāṇa, we find a hermitage of a certain Gautama—husband of Ahalyā, herself, a sister to King Divodāsa of North Pāñchāla in the outskirts of Mithilā in a garden.¹⁵⁸ Both the sages, Bharadvāja and Gautama, as we already know, belonged to the Aṅgiras family. The family priest of Karandama, Abhikṣita and Marutta, kings of ancient Vaisali in modern Bihar were of Aṅgiras's descent.¹⁵⁹ Again, there was a born blind sage of the name of Dīrghatamā¹⁶⁰ who belonged to the Aṅgiras family. He was very lustful and used to live in the hermitage of a cousin named Saradvant. Once, because of his immodest behaviour towards his sister-in-law, he was made to float in a raft on the Ganges. As he was carried down, he was taken up by Vali, king of Aṅga, and was given a shelter. There he got a son by a Sūdrā maid-servant of the king of the name of Kakṣivant, father of the famous lady Ghoṣā. The king himself was childless and the practice of vicarious production of children (Niyogaprathā) prevailed at that age and the king's queen Sudeṣṇā bore five children by Dīrghatamā, namely Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇdra and Suhma. These are the ancestors of Vāleya Kṣatriyas and Vāleya Brāhmaṇas. Each of them became the founder of a dynasty and a kingdom and each of these kindgoms came to be known after the founder's name. This born blind sage Dīrghatamā, the son of Uchathya and Mamātā, is mentioned

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.—I. 48-50.

¹⁵⁹ Ancient Indian Historical Tradition. p. 157.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.—pp. 158-59.

in the R̥gveda.¹⁶¹ It is not unlikely that the Aryans advanced upto Bengal in the R̥gvedic age. But probably this fact was not sufficiently noticed by the main body of Aryans and in the subsequent ages these Aryan adventurers of the east were looked down with an eye of contempt by the others and any one wishing to visit Bengal and return had to atone for it.¹⁶² Anyway, a descendant of Aṅgiras was the leader of this eastern expedition. Dirghatamā atoned for his previous sins afterwards by practising severe penance, got back his sight, and became famous. Henceforth he came to be known only as Gautama.

¹⁶¹ R̥gv.—I. 147. 3; I. 152. 6; I. 158.

¹⁶² Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra—Aitareyabrāhmaṇa.

A STONE INSCRIPTION FROM MAKSUDPUR

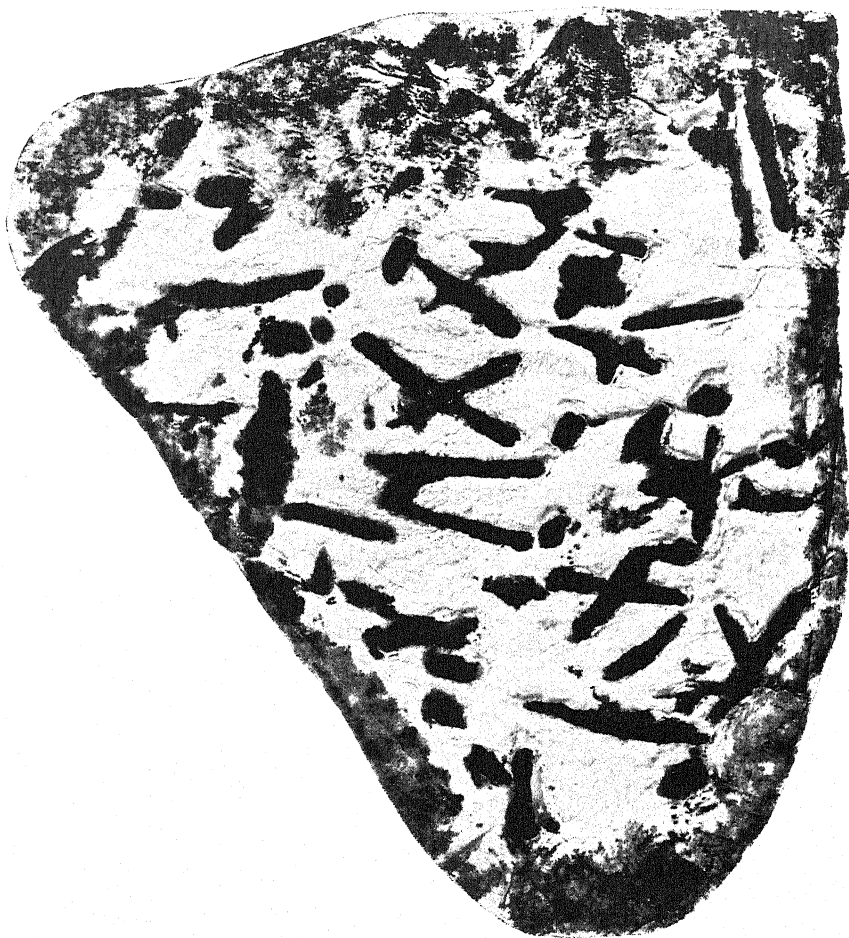
(WITH PLATES)

By A. BANERJI-SASTRI

The inscribed stone described below was brought to me by Mr. Mehra, Manager of the Maksudpur estate in the district of Gaya. It was reported to have been found in a jungle near Rajauli.

Rajauli is well-known to be an ancient site.¹ "The hills south of Rajauli present some of the most picturesque scenery in the district. They are said to have sheltered the seven *rishis*, and particular peaks are named after one or more of them. At Lomāsgiri, 4 miles to the north east, there is a cave in which Lomāsa lived. Durvāsārhi (2,202 feet high) derives its name from the holy but irascible Durvāsa, whose curses are famous in Hindu mythology. Sringirikh again was the home of the saint Srīnga, and is perhaps the most interesting of all the peaks near Rajauli. It rises to a great height, and from the summit a wonderful view can be obtained of hill after hill, clothed with rich vegetation, rolling on in almost endless confusion as far as the eye can reach. There is a rough stone platform on the top with some shapeless boulders which are objects of worship; a fair is held annually at the foot, and devotees toil up the steep ascent to pay their devotions to these rocks."

¹ GAYA (Bengal District Gazetteers). By L. S. S. O'Malley, 1906, pp. 235-6.



Maksudpur Stone Inscription (Obverse).

*****“Dubaur, 7 miles south-east of Rajauli, is another centre of mica-mining interest, but among the people it is better known on account of the legends which cling round it. It was once the residence of Durvāsa, and the full name is said to be Durvāsapura; but it is even more celebrated as the birth-place of the cowherd hero Lorik, whose life makes the whole neighbourhood the home of legend. ****He is said to have ruled over the country with justice and to have turned the barren land round Rajauli into a plain cultivated like a garden. ****His exploits are famous all over Northern India and form the subject of a popular folk song of portentous length which the Ahirs regularly recite.”¹

The above legends refer the antiquity of the site to pre-historic times, while the connection with the Ahirs may reveal a pre-Aryan stratum.

The stone is an irregularly broken fragment of a larger piece the whole of which was evidently inscribed.² The present fragment is 12" in width and 14" in length at its centre. The thickness is roughly 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, both the sides being inscribed. The stone is light gneiss of the Rajauli rock.

The first noteworthy feature of the stone is a polish on the two inscribed surfaces as well as on the letters themselves. This polish is set off clearly against the original texture of the stone as seen in the broken edges. At places the polish resembles the polished

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

² The stampages were prepared through the courtesy of the Curator, Patna Museum.

surface of the Barabar Caves, specially of the Lomaśa R̥ṣi cave which under a different appellation was bestowed by Aśoka on the Ājīvikas, Aśoka claiming to be the donor, not the actual author of the caves in question.

The most intriguing problem, however, is the script. The following tentative suggestions may be offered.

MAKSUDPUR SCRIPT

The inscription is in a script hitherto unknown. It is a mixture of the pictographic and alphabetic systems. The epigraphical and linguistic problem may supply a link between the early pictographic system of the Indus valley and the early syllabic alphabet of Northern India, known as the Brāhmī script from which all later characters were derived.

The Maksudpur script runs from *right to left* as is clear from the two lines at the right hand bottom of the obverse.

Accentuation marks abound placed *before* and *after* a sign. The doubled forms in lines three and four suggest the sibilant *visarga* of Sanskrit while the dots in lines four and five may indicate the Sanskrit *anusvāra* or nazalisations of vowel endings.

The figure of a bull in line five and of a man in line six form part of the inscription itself where all the signs and figures have been boldly chiselled at the same time evidently with an iron chisel. Both the surfaces and the signs including letters and figures have then been polished in the same way.

COMPARISON WITH MAHENJO-DARO SCRIPT

In accents, pictographs and alphabets,¹ the Maksudpur inscription bears some resemblance to the Sign list of the Indus script.

Special attention may be drawn to the third line (obverse) of Maksudpur with signs nos. 113 and 114 of the Indus list as published in *Mahenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, (Marshall, 1931) p. 440. The cross-like (×) like sign in line four of Maksudpur is similar to signs nos. 98 and 99 of Mahenjo-Daro (*ibid*) p. 439.

The vertical line in Maksudpur line four occurs in Mahenjo-Daro no. 264.

For the human figure in line six of Maksudpur, compare no. 189 of the Indus list, p. 446.

COMPARISON WITH VIKRAMAKHOL INSCRIPTION

In plates 8 and 9 as published in the *Indian Antiquary*, volume LXII, 1933, pp. 58-60, the Y-shaped sign and a cross + occur in various forms. These may be compared with similar signs in Maksudpur (reverse). The Y-shaped sign may remind one of the Kharoṣṭhī script but the materials are too meagre to discuss the alternative assumption² of a common parentage for the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī.

COMPARISON WITH SYMBOLS ON PUNCH-MARKED COINS

In *Punch-marked Coins from Taxila*, memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 59, 1939,

¹ *Mahenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. II, pp. 427-431.

² *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LXII, pp. 59-60.

p. 9, Mr. Walsh remarks—"There are also two other marks which are of very general occurrence on all punch-marked coins, and therefore must be of general significance". One of these two is the Humped Bull (*ibid*, fig. 3). This bull also occurs in line six of Maksudpur.

Messrs. Walsh, Durga Prasad and Fabry have pointed out the similarities between the Mahenjo-Daro signs and the Punch-marked symbols. The man appears in both; it appears in Maksudpur as well in line six (obverse).

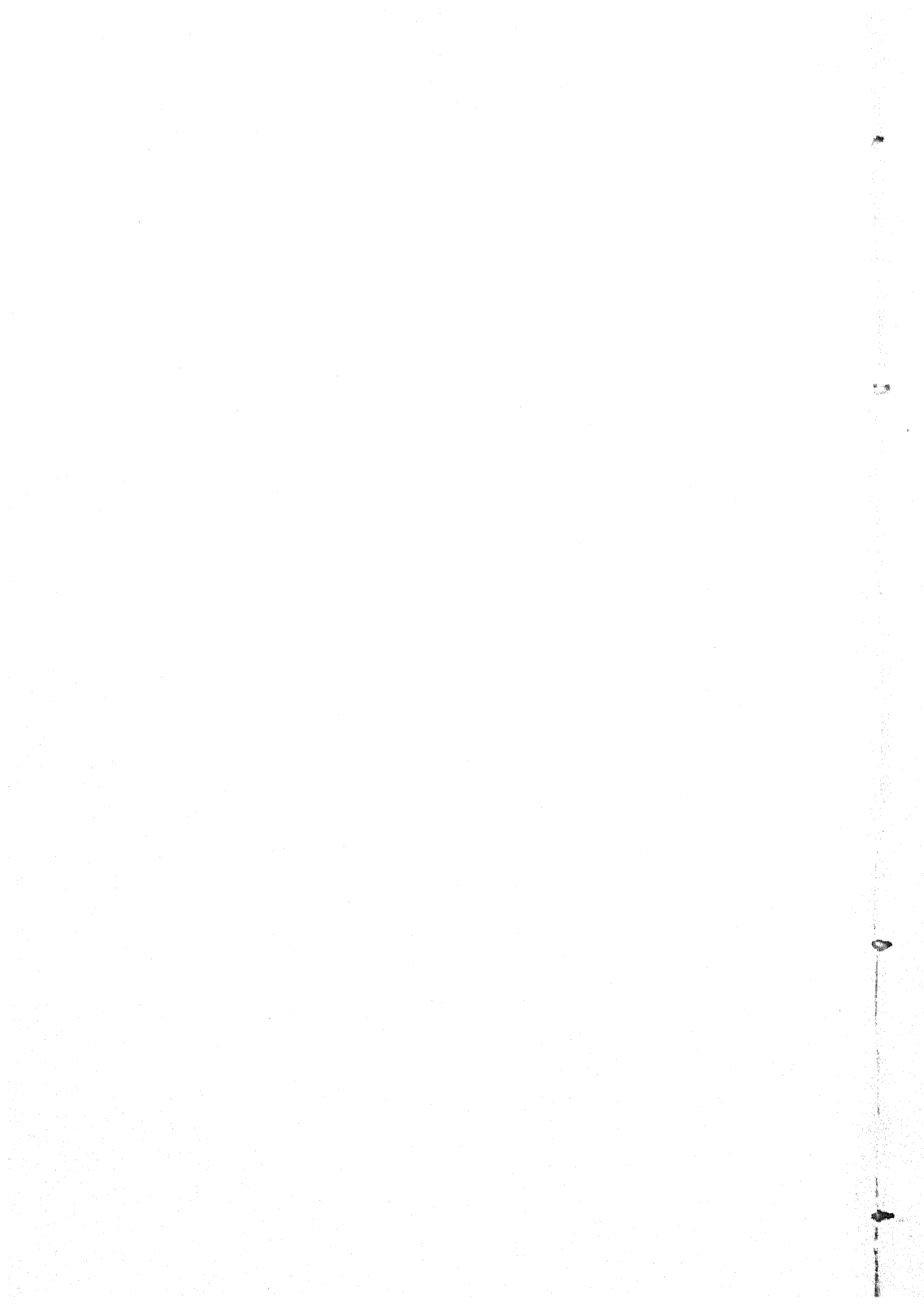
DATE OF MAKSUDPUR INSCRIPTION

It is not possible to assign any date except by inference. Professor Langdon made a study of the script of a pre-Sanskrit civilization of the Indus Valley from the material supplied by 541 impressions of small press seals.¹ He placed them about 3200-2800 B.C. Langdon derives the early syllabic Brāhmī from the early pictographic system of the Indus Valley. "If, however, this (Indus Valley) script was preserved and finally issued into the alphabet of the Buddhistic period, it proves that the Aryans must have had intimate contact with these founders of culture in India." Langdon was also confident that the gap between 3000 B.C. and 300 B.C. will be bridged by new discoveries.¹ "Undoubtedly the great lapse of time between these seals of the Indus Valley and the age of Aśoka will be regarded as a fatal objection. But the epigraphical material may be found, and the evo-

¹ *Mahenjo-Daro, op. cit.*, p. 424.



Maksudpur Stone Inscription (Reverse)



lution of the old pictographic writing into the late Indian alphabet will be traced. Obviously a large number of signs were discarded and only the necessary ones chosen***" (*Mahenjo-Daro, ibid.*, 1931, p. 431).

The Vikramkhoh inscription was discovered in 1933. At present an intensive comparison is being carried on between Mahenjo-Daro and punch-marked signs and symbols. Sir A. Cunningham's brilliant suggestion¹ regarding an early Indian pictographic system as the origin of the Brāhmī alphabet finds an echo in assigning the oldest punch-marked coins to about 1000 B.C.

The Maksudpur inscription may be a link between the above stages.

DECIPHERMENT OF MAKSUDPUR INSCRIPTION

The decipherment must await further studies of the signs in Mahenjo-Daro, Vikramakhoh and Punch-marked records. The language need not be presumed to be Aryan or Indo-Germanic.

¹ *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, i, 52.

Miscellaneous Articles
SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

ON

*"Two Hoards of Silver Punch-marked Coins,
one found at Ramnā and one at Machhuatoli"
in this Journal of June 1939, pages 91 to 117*

The present Supplementary Note is necessary owing to the fact that the proofs of the article and of the Plates were not sent to me from India for revision. The following corrections are therefore necessary.

Errata

Page 94, line 10, *insert* " after the words "four years." The quotation of the Treasure Trove Report ends there. The words "About 1500 of the Machhuatoli coins" are not part of the Report and should begin a fresh paragraph. Page 96, line 6, *for* "sigloo" *read* "siglos".

Page 96, lines 21 and 22. *For* "Board" *read* "Hoard".

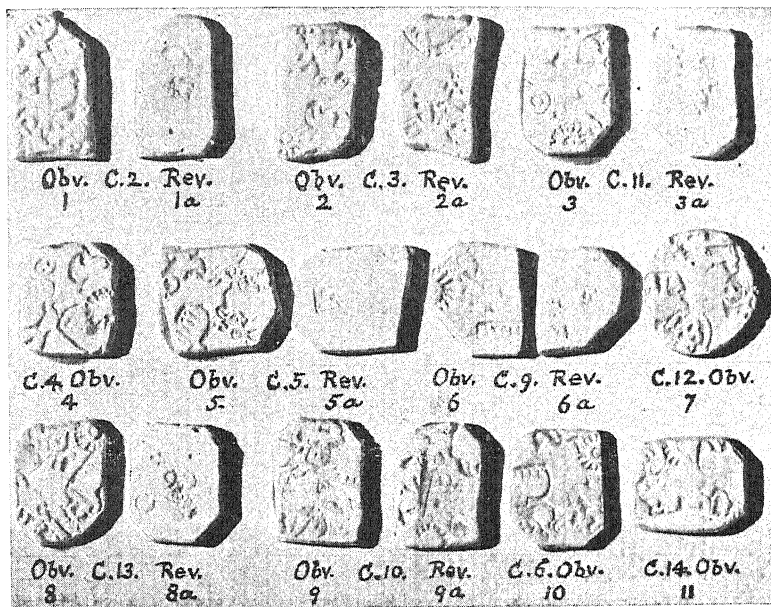
Page 98, Footnote No. 1, *for* "pillor" *read* "pillar".

Page 106, line 22, *for* "clump" *read* "dump".

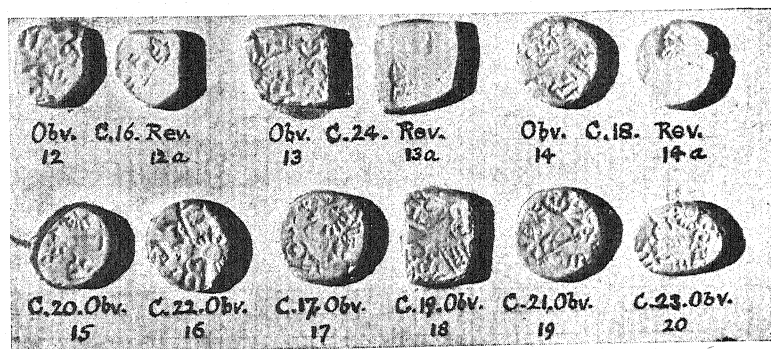
Page 114 and page 116 *insert* "The Machhuatoli Specimens" at the top of the List of those Coins.

Page 114 and page 116. In the Heading of the First Column of that list *for* "En. No." *read* "Coin No."

THE MACHHUATOLI COINS



THE EARLIER THIN COINS



THE LATER THICK COINS

Page 114 and page 116. In the Heading of the Second Column of the List *for* "S. No." *read* "Serial No."

Page 114 and page 116. In the Heading of the Eighth Column of the List *for* "No. of M." *read* "No. of Marks."

The Plates II and III of the Ramnā coins and Plate IV of the Machhواتoli coins have been reduced in size in their reproduction. The actual size of the coins is given in the respective lists of those Coins. (Pages 108 to 116). The Plate IV of the casts of the Machhواتoli Coins has also been photographed with the light in the wrong direction with the result that the Coins and the Marks on them appear as concave instead of convex, and the Marks are consequently not recognisable. To see them at all, the Plate requires to be looked at upside-down and to be viewed from its top.¹

Plates II, III and IV therefore require to be re-printed correctly. This will be done in a subsequent number of this Journal.

E. H. C. WALSH

¹The Press has since rectified this mistake at its own cost.

TWO HERO-STONES OF BANKURA

By ADRIS BANERJI

Bankura, one of the western-most districts of Bengal, is situated between $28^{\circ}38'$ and $23^{\circ}38'$ N. latitude; and between $86^{\circ}36'$ and $87^{\circ}46'$ E. longitude. It is bounded on the north by the river Damodar, on the south-east by the Hughly district and on the south by Midnapore, on the west by Manbhum and on the east by the districts of Burdwan and Hughly. This district which may well be described as the connecting link between Chota-Nagpur plateau and Bengal, possesses many interesting antiquities, which have not been able to draw the attention of the Indian archaeologists that they deserve. When Mr. J. C. French, late of the Indian Civil Service, was the Collector of Bankura, he is reported to have engaged himself in a thorough study of the antiquarian remains in the district, but his results have not yet been made available to the public. The photographs of the two illustrations accompanying this article since lost were taken by him and the copies of it sent to the late R. D. Banerji.

The custom of raising memorials over the last remains of the deceased persons, who, for some reason or other, distinguished themselves in the eyes of their compatriots, was prevalent in India since time immemorial. The rude megalithic remains found in the various parts of India bear eloquent

testimony to the above hypothesis. Apart from these, there are stray passages in various literary works, which indicate that some sort of tumuli, round or square, or brick structures were raised over the bodily remains or ashes of the deceased persons. Thus there is a passage in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, according to which, "now the Gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Prajāpati, were contending in four regions (quarters). The Gods drove out the Asuras, their rivals and enemies, from the regions, and being regionless they were overcome, wherefore the people who were godly make their burial places four cornered, while those who are of Asura nature, like the Easterners and the others, make them round, for they (the gods) drove them out of regions."¹

Mahāparinibbāna Sutta informs us that, when Gotama was staying at the *Sāla-vaṇa*, of the Mallas, the Upavattana of the Kusinara, on the further side of the river Hiranyavati; one day, Ānanda asked his master, 'What are we to do, lord, with the remains of Tathāgata?'

Gotama is reported to have replied that, 'Hinder not yourselves, Ānanda, by honouring the remains of Tathāgata. Be zealous, I beseech you, Ānanda, in your own behalf. Devote yourselves to your own good. Be earnest, be zealous, be intent on your own good. There are wise men, Ānanda, among the nobles, amongst the Brahmins, among the heads of houses, who are firm believers in the Tathāgata, and they will do due honour to the remains of

¹ *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Sacred Books of the East Series, Vol. XLI, pp. 423-24.

Tathāgata!

‘But what should be done, lord, with the remains of Tathāgata?’

‘As men treat the remains of King of kings, so Ānanda they should treat the remains of Tathāgata.

‘And how, lord, do they treat the remains of King of kings?’

‘They wrap the body of a King of kings Ānanda, in a new cloth. When that is done, they wrap it in carded cotton wool. When that is done they wrap it in new cloth and so on, till they have wrapped it in five hundred layers of new cloth. Then they place the body in an oil vessel of iron, and cover the close up with another oil vessel of iron. They then build funeral pyre of all kinds of perfume, and burn the body of King of kings. And then on four cross roads they erect a cairn to King of kings. This, Ānanda, is the way in which they treat the remains of king of kings.’¹

The custom of erecting stone slabs, decorated or otherwise, is found all over Madras-Presidency. In Tamil they are called *Virakkāl* and in Telegu *Viragālu*.² These hero or memorial stones are also met with in the Kanarese speaking districts of the Bombay Presidency; either singly or in groups, where they are known as *Viragāls*.³

They are generally upright slabs of stones upon

¹ Rhys Davids—*The Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. III, pt. II, London, 1910.

² I am indebted for these informations to Mr. T. N. Ramachandran of the Archaeological Survey.

³ H. Cousens—*The Chalukyan Architecture*, Archaeological Survey, New Imperial Series, Vol. XLIII, Calcutta, 1926.

faces of which occur horizontal bands of sculptures with inscribed labels between them. Usually we find in the lowest band—a battle scene, where the hero is depicted as of disproportionate size, causing havoc around him. The other bands contain other scenes—one or two of which show the hero being carried to heaven, or sitting there enjoying company of celestial damsels. The uppermost panel usually contains various objects of worship and symbols of particular religious sect to which the hero belonged. Thus in the case of a *Saiva* we find the trident or the Bull or the *lingam*. In the case of a *Vaishṇava* the *Chakra* or the *Śaṅkha* or the *padma*.

In many instances these steles or slabs are found inscribed, which generally contain an account of the hero's death either in battle, in reclaiming stolen cattle, in self defence against robbers, or in hunting field. One such inscription is of peculiar historical interest. This was found at Gaddemanne, in the Shimoga district of Mysore. It records that one Peṭṭani Satyāṅka, a brave soldier, of Harsha's army fell fighting the Bedars, and defeat of the Bedars made Mahendra fly in terror.¹

Two stones now being described, are of unique interest. *Viragāls* are very seldom found in Bengal. These two are to be found in the village of Chhātnā of the Bankura district on the Bankura-Purulia Road, 8 miles west of Bankura town. The find of hero stones in Bengal were first reported by the late Dr. T. Bloch, in the Manbhum district, which then formed

¹ *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Survey*, 1923, pp. 83ff. No. 72.

a part of Bengal.¹ It is therefore clear that the custom of raising memorial though rarely found in greater portion of Bengal, was prevalent in the districts of Bankura and Manbhum, where there is abundant aboriginal element.

The first one is an oblong piece of stone, slightly tapering to the top with a broad heavy base. It seems to have suffered much from exposure. The top is damaged and now only one panel is visible. Whether there were other horizontal panels like those in the peninsular region must at present remain uncertain. The existing panel shows a human being curved in low relief, in a fighting pose. His up-raised right hand holding a straight sword, while the left arm holds in all probability a shield.

The second slab is a rectangular piece of stone and is also damaged. It is found in a slightly inclined position. It shows the main figure, of disproportionate size, with small figures standing on its right side. Probably it depicts deceased hero flying to heaven after death. The top of the slab bears the figure of a couchant beast, which has suffered very much. It may be the figure of a 'Bull', which probably indicates that the deceased hero in all probability was a *Saiva*.

The technique of execution is very rude. The figures are lifeless and show total lack of knowledge of human anatomy. Modelling and proportion are conspicuous by their absence.

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle*, 1903, p. 13, para. 17.

Reviews of Books

ALIVARDI AND HIS TIMES. *By* Kali Kinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., (CAL.) Published by the University of Calcutta. pp. 308. 2 maps. *By* Dr. N. K. Sinha (Calcutta University).

Dr. Datta's book gives us a detailed account of the period immediately before Plassey. This thesis was approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Calcutta University. Contemporary works in Persian, the British East India Company's published and unpublished correspondence, the Chandernagar correspondence in French, accounts of travellers and servants of the different East India Companies, selections from Peshwa Daftar and other Maratha sources, as also contemporary literature Bengali and Sanskrit, provided Dr. Datta with his materials. Naturally here is that apparatus of learning which is the characteristic of a doctorate thesis. But what emerges out of all this is undoubtedly very instructive.

No honest Indian can read the history of India in the 18th century without a sense of shame and as he reads the detailed accounts, he forms a correct estimate of the causes of his country's degradation. An attempt to slide over these details would therefore defeat the very purpose of the higher study of history. To a patient investigator of the causes of his country's downfall this book is indispensable. The debased

eighteenth century political atmosphere of deceit, suspicion, treachery and crime stands revealed in fullness of detail. Dr. Datta also deals with the Maratha inroads and their consequences, the Afghan insurrections and the resultant atmosphere of insecurity, the undercurrent of Hindu discontent and its consequences.

This book also contains an account of the social and economic condition of Bengal during the mid-eighteenth century. This has perhaps been done in order to round off the theme. The reviewer finds the topographical details and the two maps very helpful.

N. K. S.

VIHARA-DARPAṆA. By Shri Gadadhar Prasad Ambashtha, Vidyāṅkara. Published by the Granthamala Karyalaya, Bankipur, 1940. 10"×5", 960 pages, with a number of plates reproducing sites of historical or topographical interest.

The book is designed to be a short encyclopaedia of information regarding the province of Bihar. The author has at first given information and statistics concerning territorial divisions into districts, physical features, climate, population, religion, agriculture and trade, industries, dialects, administration, railway and other routes etc. of the province as a whole. He then treats each district singly on almost the same lines. The chapter on the history of the province dating from the earliest times (pp. 17-45) deserves special mention. The chapter on dialects also (pp. 123-167) is useful

and the author has given illustrations and discussed the problems relating to language and script. On page 210 he has traced the origin of the name of the province to territorial units of the same name under the British and Muslim administrations. This point is, however, open to further investigation and research as hinted by Jayachandra Vidyalkara in his 'Foreword'. The one feature that strikes the reader of such an informative treatise is the lack of maps and charts showing railway routes and other details. Mr. Ambashtha has done a distinct service to Bihar by bringing out this valuable book: it is one of the pioneer attempts in Hindi language.

D.B.

VIHARA KE DARSANIYA STHANA. *By the same author.* Date and place of publication—the same. Pages 198. Size—10"×5".

In this book the author has given brief descriptions of places of interest and importance in each district. It is very useful as a tourist's manual giving as it does topographical details at length. Some of the plates are not as clear and distinct as they should be; and it would have been better if there were more maps and charts showing the geography of the districts, railways, motorable roads etc. The alphabetical index in the end would be of much help to the reader. The treatise fills up a long-felt gap.

D.B.

VERELST'S RULE IN INDIA. By Dr. Nandalal
Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., Indian Press, Allahabad, 1939

Mr. Harry Verelst, who came to Bengal as an employé of the E. I. Co. in July, 1749, lived in this country for about 20 years. He served his masters in various capacities, taking charge of a factory, becoming a member of the Bengal Council, and later of the Select Committee, gaining credit as Supervisor of the collection of revenue of the districts ceded by Mir Qasim, conducting valuable enquiries, introducing useful reforms and finally succeeding Clive, his close and intimate friend, as Governor of Bengal, for the period 1767-1769. As Governor, however, Verelst has been generally regarded as a "nonentity", a "mere stop-gap" under whom "there was neither an increase of profits to the Company, nor any movement towards securing the people of Bengal the benefit of an efficient government". But while one English writer regards his brief regime as "affording little of notice", another thought that "it has an interest for all times". In view of this apathy and conflicting judgment about Verelst and his work, the new book of Dr. N. L. Chatterjee, the author of 'Mir Qasim', embodying his researches which he carried on for several years, and based on all available original sources, specially MS. Records of the Government of India and of Bengal, forms a very valuable contribution to the study of what was really an important episode in the British Indian history.

The first of the 14 chapters is concerned with the problems of protecting Bengal and the Dominions

of the friendly Nawab Vazir of Oudh from the so-called menace of the last two invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali (1767-69). The author has tried to justify Verelst's frontier policy and his anxious preparation to meet the supposed danger on the ground of the alleged secret alliance between the Shah and the ex-Nawab of Bengal. The next chapter is more important and informing in that it gives very interesting details about the first English expedition to Bengal which was protected and undertaken in Verelst's time, apparently in response to an appeal from the de-throned Mewar rulers against their vanquisher, Prithi-Narayan, the founder of the Gurkha Raj in Nepal, but really because of the economic reason of 'promoting free communication and uninterrupted trade'. A rare and very old Persian MS., which is just now before the present reviewer, practically supports the outline given by Dr. Chatterjee and also supplies some additional information about the quarrels between Jayprakash of Kāntipur (Khatmandu) and Ranjit Mal Deo of Bhatgāon, their subsequent union, and defeat at the hands of the Gurkha usurper, their appeal to Mr. Rumbold, the causes of the failure of the English expedition, and the subsequent attempts of Ranjit Mal Deo, his manager, Jograj, and his son Abhadut Singh to win back the lost thrones by enlisting the support of the English through Mr. Alexander and inciting other dispossessed princes of Nepal. In the next chapter Dr. Chatterjee has very clearly analysed the causes of the uneasy relation between the English and the Dutch in India and shown how the just attitude of the Governor (Verelst) and the

support he gave to Md. Raza Khan and the clever Foujdar of Hugli resulted in the humiliation and submission of the deficient and unreasonable Dutch authorities. Here we get also a critical examination of Mr. Bolts' complicity in creating bad blood between his countrymen (the Dutch) and his employers (the English). Bolts' deposition and deportation forms the subject of an independent chapter (VIII) which concludes with Dr. Chatterjee's opinion that Verelst "was not actuated by any personal malice or jealousybut as Governor he did not act with due circumspection and firmness in his measures against Mr. Bolts."

That Verelst was a man of integrity and honesty, well-informed but not vigorous, and was thought even by his close friend, Clive, to have been wanting in firmness and resolution as shown in Chapter IX which deals with the Governor's dispute with Col. Smith concerning the principle of the subordination of the military to the civil authorities. The Col. was guilty of insubordination; yet the Governor fought shy of taking the drastic step of punishing or dismissing him.

As in the case of the Dutch, Verelst was, however, led to take a rather strong attitude towards the French authorities in India—a subject dealt with in Chapter VII. Rivalry in inland trade was at the root of the quarrels between the English and the French. Armed with the support of the Governor, Md. Raza Khan kept the French confined to their fixed bounds, and when proofs of their hostile intentions and tendency to disturb the tranquillity of the country was avail-

able, strong measures were taken and the ditch they had dug was levelled up with the help of 800 sepoys. It is interesting to note that perhaps, for the first time, Dr. Chatterjee has utilized the account given by Karam Ali which like many other things in his valuable history of Bengal, is in accord with the version found in original English records.

Chapters IV, V and VI deal with Verelst's relation with the County Power like the Bhonslas of Nagpur, and Orissa, the Nawab Vazir of Oudh and the puppet Emperor Shah Alam. In the first, we get a detailed but very lucid account of Anglo-Merhatta negotiations for the cession of Cuttack and their ultimate failure due chiefly to the refusal of the English to pay the Chowth and assist Jawaji against the Peshwa. In the succeeding chapter Dr. Chatterjee has noticed Verelst's achievements in concluding a new treaty with the Nawab of Oudh whereby he practically disarmed Shuja-ud-Daula by compelling him to disband most of his efficient troops. This has been regarded by a writer as the first step towards the annexation of Allahabad, Cawnpore and Rohilkhand. As regards Shah Alam's relation with the English, it was coloured by the Emperor's distrust of his Vazir and the latter's chagrin at the pretensions of Munir-ud-Daula, the founder of Bhiknapahari Nawab of Patna and Bhagalpur and it became further complicated by the Emperor's eagerness to recover the lost territories in Bundelkhand and his ambition to get back the throne of his ancestors with the promised aid of the English. The decision of Verelst and his two colleagues of the S.C. to furnish the Emperor with 2 battalions has been

criticized as hasty and unpolitic on the ground of the risks involved and the repeated warnings of the Directors "never to engage in a march to Delhi".

In Chapter X we get a clear exposition of the difficult problem arising from the depletion of the currency and scarcity of coins which Governor Verelst tried to tackle, without much success, during his short regime. One of the chief reason of his failure was the heavy drain of silver from Bengal of which the well-meaning Governor was quite conscious but had no power to stop. In the following two chapters Verelst's anxiety to improve affair in the sphere of revenue administration; his sincere desire to serve the interests of both the Company and the people and the ultimate failure of his well meant schemes have been discussed in details. The Governor has been justly eulogized for condemning the iniquity of short leases, checking overassessment and arbitrary demands, enforcing substantial abatement in 1769, encouraging Rennel to complete his useful survey of Bengal, trying, though in vain, to check the rapacity of the Foujdars and Amirs and instituting a scheme of English Supervisors. The instructions given by the Governor to Supervisors form very interesting reading.

Chapter XIII which deals largely with the anomalies and imperfection of the Judicial organisation existing in the time of Verelst concludes with a reference to the Governor's statesmanlike insistence on continuing to the people their own laws, customs and magistrates. In the last Chapter XIV wherein we get the author's estimate of the character

and policy of Verelst one notices that the author's sympathy with his hero has not blinded him to his certain obvious shortcomings. While he holds that Verelst in every respect was one of the foremost; if not the foremost, among the Company's Civilian administrators preceding W. Hastings, he, at the same time, points out his want of resolution, force of will and ill-tuned conservatism which generally explain the weakness of his administration. We agree with the author's view that Verelst's tender regard for the suffering of ryots of Bengal mark him as a high-minded administrator in advance of his time. The book closes with a bibliography and an index.

Scholars may have reasons to question some of Dr. Chatterjee's arguments specially in regard to Verelst's attitude towards the County Powers; an average reader would have welcomed a short introductory chapter indicating the beginning and tenure of Verelst's administration; one may wish that the various chapters could form a continuous whole and did not lack interconnection, one beginning rather abruptly after the other, and that the chapter on currency could have given much more additional information than is available in Dr. J. C. Sinha's *Economic Annals of Bengal*; yet the value and importance of the work as a whole, cannot be gainsaid. The book is well printed though with occasional misprints e.g., expounded (p. 263).

Notes of the Quarter

Proceedings of the meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on the 17th June, 1940 at 8 a.m.

Present:

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazl Ali (in the Chair).

The Lord Bishop of Patna.

Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muhammad Ismail.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on December 10, 1939.

2. Passed the monthly accounts for the months November and December, 1939 and January to April 1940.

3. Passed the Annual Statement of Accounts for the year 1939-40.

4. Confirmed payments of the following bills:—

(a) Allahabad Law Journal Press Bills:—

- | | |
|---|--------------|
| 1. Bill No. 426 dated 5-12-39 printing charges of September-December issue, | |
| 1939 | Rs. 139 15 6 |
| 2. Bill No. 424 dated 5-12-39 printing charges of Index to Journal | |
| 1938 | Rs. 49 0 0 |

(b) Kodak Bills:—

1. Bill No. C/P 1484 dated 13-1-40 enlargement of negatives of Tibetan books Rs. 928 1 0
2. Bill No. C/P 1656 dated 8-2-40 enlargement of negatives of Tibetan books Rs. 686 9 0

5. Elected the following gentlemen as ordinary members of the Society.

(a) T. P. Singh Esq., I.C.S., Subdivisional officer, Dinapore.

(b) S. V. Sohoni Esq., I.C.S., Assistant Magistrate, Dinapore.

(c) Rev. Marshall D. Moran, S. J., Principal, St. Xavier's, Patna.

(d) V. S. Agarwala Esq., Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

2. Resolved further that the sum of Rs. 10 paid by Dr. Petech be kept in suspense account during the duration of the war.

6. Sanctioned the exchange of publications with the Archaeological Department, Jaipur State.

7. Resolved that a sum of Rs. 800/- (Rupees eight hundred) be paid out of the still unspent balance of Rs. 1,265-12-9 of the Tibetan grant, to supplement the sum of Rs. 1,000/- kept in the Society's account out of the proceeds of the sale of the old set of Tanjur to the Rangoon University and Rs. 700/- now with Messrs. Dharmaman Purnaman out of Rs. 1,000/- advanced to this firm to purchase for the

Bihar and Orissa Research Society a complete set of the Tanjur.

The total sum thus available *viz.*, Rs. 800/- now sanctioned, in addition to Rs. 1,000/- plus Rs. 700/- already at the disposal of the Society, to be paid to defray price and freight of all the volumes of the Tanjur to Patna C/o The Imperial Bank of India, Patna, and will be paid only on receipt of all the volumes and only through the said Bank.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI

Honorary General Secretary

19-6-40

ANNUAL STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS, 1939-40

Heads	INCOME					
	Actuals			Revised Budget		
	1939-40			1939-40		
	Rs.	as.	p.	Rs.	as.	p.
GOVERNMENT GRANT—						
Library	1,000	0	0	1,000	0	0
Establishment ..	1,000	0	0	1,000	0	0
Cataloguing of Mithila Mss.	1,533	0	0	1,533	0	0
Journal	1,600	0	0	1,600	0	0
Receipt of Advance spent on a/c of Journal	1,000	0	0			
Postage recovered ..	14	15	0	10	0	0
Subscription	1,475	4	3	1,200	0	0
Sale Proceeds of Journal	448	6	0	259	6	0
Miscellaneous	290	4	0			
Sale of Buchanan Reports	16	8	0			
Sale of Catalogue of Mithila Mss. ..	5	0	0			
Interest on Public Account	118	10	10			
OPENING BALANCE—						
Huthwa Fund	200	10	6	200	10	6
Darbhanga Fund ..	1,246	11	9	1,246	11	9
Mayurbhanj Fund ..	220	7	$\frac{1}{2}$	220	7	$\frac{1}{2}$
Tibetan Expedition ..	3,356	12	0	3,356	12	0
Tanjur	1,000	0	0	1,000	0	0
General Balance ..	1,332	7	$4\frac{1}{2}$	1,332	7	$4\frac{1}{2}$
GRAND TOTAL ..	15,859	0	9	13,959	6	8

S. BAHADUR
Honorary Treasurer

ANNUAL STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS, 1939-40

EXPENDITURE

Heads	Actuals 1939-40			Revised Budget 1939-40		
	Rs.	as.	p.	Rs.	as.	p.
Library	1,109	4	6	1,209	2	3
Establishment	1,266	4	0	1,280	0	0
Mithila Pandit	1,591	0	10	1,608	0	0
Printing charges of Journal	1,230	14	6			
Refund of advance pay- ment on account of Journal	1,000	0	0	2,218	2	0
Postage	311	12	9	400	0	0
Stationery	56	9	0	90	0	0
Electrical Charges	124	12	0	100	0	0
Miscellaneous	194	0	0	300	0	0
*Tibetan Expedition.. ..	2,090	15	3	3,444	0	0
Huthwa Fund	1	3	0	200	10	6
Darbhangra Fund				1,246	11	9
Mayurbhanj Fund	9	0	0	220	7	$\frac{1}{2}$
Tanjur				1,000	0	0
Telephone	1	0	0			

CLOSING BALANCE—

Huthwa Fund	215	15	6			
Darbhangra Fund	1,251	11	9			
Mayurbhanj Fund	211	7	$\frac{1}{2}$			
Tibetan Expedition	1,265	12	9			
Tanjur	1,000	0	0			
General Balance	2,927	5	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	642	5	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
GRAND TOTAL	15,859	0	9	13,959	6	8

S. BAHADUR
Honorary Treasurer

* Rs. 87-4 sale proceeds of Photo Materials has been adjusted in account while paying Messrs. Kodak Co., for enlargement of negatives.

स्वप्रयोजनत्वान्नारब्धव्यमिदं प्रमाणसिद्धेर्या य मु खा दिनैव साधितत्वात् (1)
यत् साधितं तत्र साध्यते यथा सिद्ध ओदनः इति (1) व्यापकविरोधमाशङ्क्याह (1)
स्वमताद्विप्रसूतादिति हेतौ पञ्चमी (1) विस्तृतप्रकरणतार्थो हि दुःखेनावधार्यत
इति सुखबोधायेहैकत्र व्यवस्थापितोऽशेषविमत्यपाकरणेनेति न पुनस्कतता दोषः ।
एकत इति सप्तम्यर्थे तसि (:) । श्लोकश्चायं प्रमाणकथनप्रस्तावाद् भगवत्प्रामाण्य-
साधकोऽनुलोमप्रतिलोमतो ज्ञेयः ।

प्रमाणं भगवान् जगद्धितैषित्वात् । यतश्च जगद्धितैषी अतः शास्ता (1) यतश्च 6a
शासकोतो गोत्रभेदेन प्राज्ञजातीयत्वात् सुगतः । सुगतत्वाच्च सर्वजगत्त्रायकोऽतोऽयं
प्रमाणमिति अनुलोमव्याख्या ।

प्रतिलोमतस्तु प्रमाणं तायित्वात् । तायित्वं सुगतत्वात् । तच्च शास्तृत्वात् ।
एतच्च जगद्धितैषित्वात् । कार्यतः कारणानुमानमिति व्याख्याभेदः । तदत्र श्लोके
शास्त्रकृता प्रथमाद्धे पञ्च पदानि प्रणम्येत्येतत्त्यक्त्वाऽमुना परिच्छेदेन व्याख्यायन्ते ।
नाधिकं सुगमत्वादिति (1)

व्याख्येयार्हव्याख्यानात् श्लोकव्याख्येत्याह । प्रायश्चाध्यारोपितगुणा स्तुतिरन्य-
देवतानां । भगवतस्त्वप्रतिसममहद्भूतगुणा स्तुतिरिति प्रतिहृता अप्यत्र प्रवर्तन्ते ।
मध्यस्था अभिप्रसीदन्ति । अभिप्रसन्नास्त्वत्यन्तमेव तत्र वृंहितभक्तयो भवन्ति । इति
स्तोत्रकर्तुः परेषाञ्च पुण्योपचयो भवति । व्याख्यातुरपि तथैव सर्वं सम्पद्यते (1)
यथोक्तं (1)

“स्तोत्रकर्तुर्यथा पुण्यं स्तुतेर्भुवि प्रवर्तते ।

तद्व्याख्यातुस्तथा सर्वमिति व्याख्या प्रवर्तते ।”

ताञ्च शास्त्रकृदाह । “प्रमाणमविसम्बादि ज्ञानमि” (१।३) त्यादि । वार्त्तिक-
रूपेण चेयं व्याख्या । तल्लक्षणत्वादित्यर्थाक्षिप्तं । वार्त्तिकस्य च लक्षणमुक्तं ।
वक्ष्यते व्याख्या चोद्देशनिर्देशापेक्षाक्षेपातिदेशादिलक्षणा तत्र युक्तात्र योज्या ।
तत्रोद्देशनिर्देशौ समासव्यासकथनं । अपेक्षा च पूर्वोत्तराभ्यामपेक्षणं । आक्षेपोऽर्थ-
क्षिप्तार्थकथनं (6b) विजातीयव्यावृत्तिश्च ।

6b

तदत्र वृत्ति का रः श्लोकपातनिकां कुर्वन् “प्रमाणभूताये”त्येतत्स्वयं व्याचष्टे ।
प्रमाणं जात इति भूतशब्दः प्रादुर्भावार्थः । तेनाजातमवस्थत्वान्न प्रमाणमित्य-
नन्तरमुक्तमवक्ष्यते च । सर्वश्च शब्दोऽन्यत्र प्रयुज्यमानोऽन्तर्भूतोपमार्थः प्रयुज्यत
इत्याह प्रमाणमिवेति (1) प्रमाणशब्दो ज्ञाने मुख्य इतरत्र तु केन साधर्म्योपमानो-
पमेयत्वमित्याह (1) ‘अविसम्बादी’ति । प्राप्तिवाची तु भवतिः स्पष्टार्थ इत्यसौ
न विवृतः प्रामाण्यं प्राप्तः प्रमाणभूत इति ।

ननु भावनावलनिष्पन्ननिष्कल्पा विकल्पा विकल्पभ्रान्तज्ञानात्मकत्वाद् भगवतः प्रत्यक्षप्रमाणस्वभावता साक्षादस्त्येव किमुपचाराश्रयेणेति चेददोषोयं सविकल्पज्ञानावस्थाश्रयेणाभिधानादित्येके । इदन्तवत्र युक्तं (१) यद्यपि यथोक्तप्रमाणात्मकः सदा भगवान् तथाप्यसंव्यावहारिकोसौऽवस्थाभेदस्ततः सांव्यवहारिकप्रमाणेनोपमीयते लोकबोधनाय (१) अमुनैव व्यवहरन्ति मुक्ता न लोकोत्तरेणातद्विप(क्ष)-त्वादितरेषां । यथोक्तं (१)

“रूपणव्यपदेशाभ्यां लौकिके वर्तमनि स्थितौ ।

ज्ञानं प्रत्यभिलापञ्च सदृशौ बालपण्डितावि”ति ॥

“प्रमाणमविसम्बादि ज्ञानमि”ति । अविसम्बादित्वं ज्ञानत्वञ्चानूद्य प्रामाण्यं विधीयते । एतच्च प्रमाणद्वयव्यापिसामान्यलक्षणं (१)

7a यद्यपि चालम्बनमनुमानस्य भ्रान्तं प्रवृत्तिविषयस्तु बाध एवार्थः । सामान्य-विशेषाकाराभ्यां स्वलक्षणस्यैव परिच्छेदादविसम्बादित्वं तुल्यं । अर्थक्रियासमर्थ-प्रतिबद्धलिङ्गापेक्षयानुमानस्य बाह्य एव प्रवृत्तेरिति तुल्यत्वं ।

ननु चाध्यक्षानुमानाभ्यामपि प्रवृत्तस्य कदाचित्प्रतिबन्धादिसम्भवाद्विसम्बादोपि । तदाभासाभ्यामपि काकतालीयन्यायेन सम्बादोपि । अतः कथमेतत्प्रमाण-लक्षणं ।

न दोषः । सदैव प्रमाणाभ्यां प्रवृत्तस्य प्रतिबन्धादप्रतिबन्धादिसम्भवे नियतः सम्बादो न त्वेवं तदाभासेऽवश्यम्भावी सम्बादः । प्रमाणशक्तिर्वा प्रामाण्यं सा च प्रतिबन्धादावप्यस्ति प्रमाणयोर्न त्वेवं तदाभासयोरिति असाङ्कर्यमेव । द्विविधश्च सम्बादो ज्ञेयधर्मो ज्ञानधर्मश्च । अत्रार्थमुपलभ्य प्रवृत्ताविष्टार्थप्राप्तिः सम्बादो विषयधर्मः । अर्थसामर्थ्येन तत्सिद्धेः । तदाकारज्ञानोत्पत्तेस्त्वर्थक्रियाधिगतिविषयि-धर्मः (१) सत्यपि बाह्येऽर्थे तद्व्यवस्थाश्रयं ज्ञानमेव तस्य स्वसम्बिद्रूपतया बाह्यप्रकाशकं स्वयंप्रकाशरूपत्वात् (१) तदेवं विषयधर्मस्यापि सम्बादस्य सम्भवा-ज्ज्ञानग्रहणं कृतमित्येतत्कथयन्नाह । स “पुनरर्थपरिच्छेदे”त्यादि । स पुनस्संवादो विषयधर्म इत्यनेन सम्बन्धः । कदा पुनरसौ भवतीत्याह । अर्थस्य विच्छिद्य प्रवृत्ताविति । परिच्छेदः प्रमाणद्वयं । तत्तु इत्यत्रानयोः । प्रत्यासन्नकारणत्वमिति सूचयति । अयन्तु भेदः प्रत्यक्षाविकल्पकत्वान्न निश्चयः किन्तु तदाभासोत्पत्तेः । अनुमाने तु निश्चय एव । यद्येवं प्रत्यक्षेणाविकल्पेन मिथ्याफलवादिनां विवेकस्य कर्तुमशक्यत्वात्कथं ततोऽर्थं परिच्छिद्य प्रवृत्तिरिति चेद् (१) उच्यते (१) द्विधा प्रत्यक्षाश्रया प्रवृत्तिराद्याभ्यासवती च । तत्र याऽद्या सार्थगता तत्राभ्याससामर्थ्याद्यथा-विषयमधिगतपाटवं सदसन्मणिरूप्यादिज्ञानवदुत्पद्यमानं यथावस्त्वेवाकारं परिच्छि-

न्दुत्पद्यते । तदाकारसम्बेदनश्च बाह्यार्थाधिगतिः सम्बन्धिष्ठत्वादर्थस्थितेनियता-
कारञ्च वेदनं द्वैराशयेनार्थानां व्यवस्थापकम् (१) एतद्वशाच्च विधिप्रतिषेध-
विकल्पः । इदमुपलभे इदं नोपलभ इति भवति । तथा भूतं तत्स्वत एव प्रमाणं पुरुषं
बाह्येऽर्थे प्रवर्तयतीत्यर्थं परिच्छिद्येति वचनं घटत एव (१) अनिश्चितविवेकस्य तु
कारणपरिशुद्धिद्वारेण प्रवृत्तिः (:) अत्रापि योऽसमर्थस्तस्य संशयेनैव प्रवृत्तिः ।
कथन्तहि परिच्छिद्येति वचनं एतन्मतेनेति चेद् (१) उक्तमत्र तदाकारोत्पत्तिमात्रेण
तथा व्यपदेश इति । संशयेन प्रवर्तमानः कथं प्रेक्षापूर्वकारीति चेत् । को
विरोधोत्र (१) न हि य एव निश्चयेन प्रवर्तते स एव प्रेक्षापूर्वकारी । तथा हि प्रवृत्तौ
हेतुद्वयमर्थसंशयोऽर्थनिश्चयश्च । निवृत्तावपि द्वयमेवानर्थनिश्चयोऽनर्थसंशयश्च ।
तत्राद्येन हेतुद्वयेन यः प्रवर्तते निवर्तते च पश्चाद् येन स प्रेक्षापूर्वकारी भण्यते
लोके । यदि च निश्चयेनैव प्रवृत्तिस्तदा कृषीबलादीनां कृष्यादिष्वप्रवृत्तिः । न हि
तेषामनागतशस्यादिनिष्पत्तौ निश्चायकं प्रमाणमस्ति ।

किं रूपोऽसौ विषयधर्मः सम्बाद इत्याह (१) “यथा समीहिते”त्यादि यथा येन
रूपेण सा

×

×

×

४—(१२) तदेवमुपादेयस्य भगवत्प्रवचनार्थस्य साधकन्तदन्यस्य हेयार्थस्य
वाधकमनुमानमाचार्यदिग्नागे नोक्तं “त्रिरूपाल्लिङ्गतोऽर्थदृग्” (ति १) अत्र
तद्विषयञ्चाथ शब्दवाच्यमन्यापोहमशेषसंख्यादिविप्रतिपत्तिनिराकरणतः प्रथमं
प्रथमपरिच्छेदेन शास्त्रकृद् व्याख्यातवान् । अनुमानमेव साधकं (प्रवचनार्थस्य)
तीर्थ्यागमस्य वाधकञ्च न प्रत्यक्षं (१) तस्य सन्निहितविषयत्वात्तत्स्वरूपस्य
चानुमानेनैव व्यवस्थानात्सर्वविमतीनाञ्चानेनैव निराकरणात् (१) तथा हि
त्रिरूपमेव लिङ्गान्नैकलक्षणादिकं (१) न च दर्शनादर्शनमात्रेण हेतुर्गमकः किन्तु
प्रतिबन्धात् (१) स च द्विरूपो नार्थलक्षणो विरोधस्य [परस्य न परिहारस्त्विति
लक्षणोऽभावः कथं भावात्मकः स्यात् वह्निना सहानवस्थित्या आलोकः
कथमनुकाराज्जायेत । अनुकारिण..] चात्रैवान्तर्भावात् (१) तथान्यापोह
एवानुमानस्य विषयो तद्रूपपरावृत्तवस्तुमात्रप्रसाधनान्न परपरिकल्पितं व्यतिरिक्ता-
व्यतिरिक्तादिरूपं सामान्यं (१) न च विधिमुखेन शब्दो वाचकः किन्त्वन्यव्य-
वच्छेदेनाभाव[भावव्यवच्छेदवाचकत्वात्] इव भावेऽप्यन्यव्यव[अब्राह्मणानीत्यादौ
पर्युदासे]च्छेदबलादेव च विशिष्टार्थप्रतीतेरन्यथा यत एव विजातीयान्न निवर्तते
सोऽन्यरूपोपि स्यात् (१) तद्रूपवत्स्वरूपवद्वाऽन्यः (:) स्यादनिवृत्तेर्न चापौरुषेयः
शब्दस्तस्य विवक्षाकार्यत्वादिति सर्वमत्र प्रथमपरिच्छेदे प्रोक्तं (१) तदेवम् (१)

“अनुमानं द्विधा स्वार्थं त्रिरूपाल्लिङ्गतोर्थदृक् (I)

पूर्ववत् फलमर्थः स्वरूपश्चातुल्यमेतयोरिति (II)

अत्र प्रमाणसमुच्चये द्वितीयपरिच्छेदश्लोके पूर्ववदिति प्रत्यक्ष इव विषयाधिगतिरूपं प्रमाणादव्यतिरिक्तं फलमनुमानेपि ज्ञेयमर्थस्त्वालम्बनं प्रत्यक्षस्य स्वरूपमिति तस्य तु सामान्याकारो न्यायोपोहो विषयः स्वरूपञ्च स्पष्टास्पष्टप्रतिभासमतुल्यं प्रत्यक्षानुमानयोरित्येतद्वक्ष्यमाणानुमिति त्यक्त्वातिविवादास्पदः (I)

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2a ५—(२।१) अधुना शेष प्रमाणसमुच्चये प्रथमद्वितीयपरिच्छेदव्याचिख्यासुस्तदादिनमस्कारश्लोकं च व्याख्यातुं शास्त्रकारो द्वितीयपरिच्छेदं प्रस्तौति । अनन्तरञ्चागमचिन्तायाम् (३।२।२) पौरुषेयमागममपाकृत्य यत्प्रतिज्ञातं सर्वस्य दृष्टादृष्टप्रकर्षार्थस्य स्वर्गापवर्गादिः परलोकस्य च देशकः पुरुषातिशय एवेति स इदानीं प्रमाणभूतः साध्यते नेश्वरादिरिति कथ्यते प्रवचने चार्थसत्यचतुष्टयं दुःखसत्यपूर्वकमुक्तं निरूपणक्रमेण (I) योगी हि सांसारिकदुःखार्तः प्रथमं दुःखसत्यं निरूप्य हेयोपादेयं सोपायं पर्येषत इति कृत्वा शास्त्रकारस्तत्पत्तिक्रममाश्रित्य यथा संसारः प्रवर्तते निवर्तते च तथा प्रथमं समुदयसत्यं तद्विमतिनिराकरणतः कथयन्तदनुक्रमेण शेषसत्यत्रयमशेषविमतिनिराकरणतः कथयतीति द्वितीयपरिच्छेदार्थः । सर्वत्र च प्रेक्षावतां सम्बन्धं विना वाञ्छाप्रवृत्तिरिति पूर्वापरपरिच्छेदसंघटनार्थं सम्बन्धोऽवश्यवाच्यः (I) स चानन्तर्यलक्षणोऽनन्तराणामपि पूर्वोद्दिष्टमानोपकारकत्वादानन्तर्यञ्च द्विधा ग्रन्थतोऽर्थतश्च (I) शास्त्रादेवार्थरूपत्वात्तत्रानन्तरपरिच्छेदसम्बन्धोऽयं द्वितीयपरिच्छेद इति (I)

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2b ६—(१।७) तत्त्वबोधासमर्थानां सद्वृत्त्या मानमेययोः ।

व्यवस्थानमिदं शास्तुः प्रवचोनुगमुच्यते ॥

ये पुद्गलाः परमार्थाधिगमे झटित्यसक्ता धर्मानुसारिणो योगिनश्च तेषां सत्संवृत्त्या प्रमाणप्रमेयव्यवस्थानं परमार्थोऽसंभवात् । यदाह नैयायिकचक्रचूडामणिः प्रमाणवार्तिके (२।५)

“प्र(१)माणं(१?) व्यवहारेण शास्त्रं मोहनिवर्तनमिति ।

भगवानपि परमार्थबोधेऽशक्तानवता (२) यितुमुक्तवान् “क्षणिकाः सर्वसंस्कारा अनित्यदुःखशून्यानात्मा” दीति । एतानि प्रमाणोपपन्नानीत्यपि प्रतिपादयितुमिदमुच्यते ॥

“परस्य प्रतिपाद्यत्वादि”त्या(४।१)दि। परो हि किलावबोधयितुमिष्टो वादिना। स यदि स्वसिद्धेनोभयसिद्धेन वा वाद्यसिद्धेनापि स्वयमागमनसिद्धेनैव साध्यमवबोध्यते लिङ्गेन तदा वादिनः का क्षतिः(१) न हीयं राजाज्ञा उभयसिद्धे- नैव साध्यं साधनीयमिति। पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वसंख्यानकुशलाः सां ख्या ऊचुः बौद्धान् प्रति। अचेतनाः सुखादयो बुद्धिर्वा उत्पत्तेर्नित्यत्वाद्वा रूपादिवदिति। बौद्धेन ह्यान्तराश्चिद्रूपाश्च सुखादयो बुद्धिश्चेष्टाः। असद्वादी च बौद्धोऽसदेवोत्प- द्यते कारणवशेन कार्योत्पत्तेः(१) न हि कार्यं स्वतन्त्रमुत्पद्यते निरन्वयञ्च नाशमि- च्छति। सांख्यस्तु सद्वादी तस्य सदेव कार्यमुत्पद्यते बीजभावेन प्रागवस्थायामपि विद्यते (१) कार्यमाविर्भावस्तूपत्तिव्यक्तिरूपः(ः)तिरोभावस्तु विनाशः। स च सान्वयोऽन्वयिद्रव्यस्य विद्यमानत्वादिति पराभ्युपगतसाधनेनैव स्वाभिमतमचेतन- त्वादिकं साधयतीति तदपनयार्थं स्वदृष्टग्रहणं। स्वयमिति वादिना। अदृष्टेऽपि न निश्चितः प्रमाणेनार्थ इति त्रिरूपं लिङ्गं परैरिति प्रतिपाद्यतेऽनेन। आगमादिति- श्लोकेऽनुमातुमपि पर।

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७—अलमतिचपलत्वात्स्वप्नमायोपमत्वात्परिणतिरिव सत्त्वात्संगमेन प्रियायाः।

इति यदि शतकृत्वस्तत्त्वमालोचयामस्तदपि न हरिणाक्षीं विस्मरत्यन्तरात्मा ॥

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(अभावः)

८—(१।८५) अभावः। नैवाभावः कश्चित्सर्वेषां कथञ्चिद् भावादिति चेत्। २ यथा तेन सन्तं सप्रकारोऽभावः। शशविषाणयोश्चायं भावात् शशविषाणाभाव- वादिनमुपहसन्नात्मानमेवोपहसति। शशावयवभूतं विषाणन्नास्तीत्यभिघातनिकः प्रस्तावः। शशोप्यस्ति विषाणञ्चेत्युत्तरस्य। न ह्ययं विषाणमात्रमपह्नुते। यतस्तेन प्रतिरुद्ध्येत किन्तु शशसम्बन्धिः। यद्येवं सम्बन्धो नास्तीति वक्तव्यं न विषाणम्। किम्बे सम्बन्धमात्रं विशिष्यते। विषाणिनामपि विषाणेषु द्रव्यस्वभावः। स्वभावोपि प्रतिकार्यं कारणभेदात्(१) तत्कोर्यं सम्बन्धाभावो वाच्य इत्युपालम्भः। अस्ति विषाणिनां विषाणस्वभावभेदो न तद्वत् किञ्चित् शशस्य भिन्न- स्वभावं विषाणमिति चेत्। वयमप्येतदेव ब्रूमः। यो वा सम्बन्धो नास्तीती- ष्यते स एवाभावः। सम्बन्धी विद्यते न सम्बन्ध इति चेत् निपुणा वाचो युक्तिः। अङ्गीकृतसम्बन्धं द्रव्यमपि नेति चेत्। प्रियमनुष्ठितं यदीदमेव प्रथममभिधीयते

न परिवर्लेशितो देवानांप्रियः स्यादिति । विरुद्धाव्यभिचार्यपि संशयहेतुः स्वतः स प्रह्नोक्तः (?) । अनुमानविषये तस्याभावात् । न हि संभवोस्ति कार्य-
त्वाभावयोस्वतलक्षणयोरनुपलम्भस्य । वा विरुद्धाव्यभिचारितायां । न चान्यो
व्यभिचारी । तस्मादव (शि) ष्टवलप्रवृत्तमागमाश्रयमनुमानमाश्रित्य तदर्थविचारेषु
विरुद्धाव्यभिचारी साधनदोष उक्तः । शास्त्रकाराणामर्थेषु भ्रान्त्या विपरीत-
स्वभावोपसंहारसम्भवात् । न हि अस्ति सम्भवो यथावस्थितवस्तुस्थितिस्वात्म-
कार्यानुपलम्भेषु । तत्रोदाहरणं सर्वगतं सामान्यं सर्वदेशावस्थिते ॥...

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(भूतचैतन्यमतनिरासः)

९—(११३७) आस्तिकानां महाभूतव्यतिरिक्तं ज्ञानं संसरति जन्मान्तरेपि ।
नास्तिकानान्तु महाभूताव्यतिरिक्तं दृष्टमात्रे ह्येवं ते प्राहुः । महाभूतानामेवाभि-
व्यक्तिविशेषो मदशक्तिवच्चैतन्यमिति । अभिव्यक्तं चैतन्यं यस्मिन्देहे स तथाभूतो
देहः स्वभावो यस्य पुरुषस्य स तथा । पश्चाद् घटशब्देन द्वन्द्वः । निद्वारणे षष्ठ्याः
सप्तम्या वा द्विवचनमेतत् । अवयवावयविसम्बन्धे वा षष्ठी । तयोरन्यतरेण घटेन
पुरुषेण वा सह द्वितीयेन वर्तत इति च द्वितीयः । व्याजेन च महाभूताव्यतिरिक्तं
चैतन्यं प्रयोगेण साधयति । अस्ति हि दृष्टान्तेऽनुपपत्त्यात्मकस्य कुड्यस्यान्यतरेण
घटेन सद्वितीयत्वमेकेनापि सद्वितीयत्वेऽन्यतरेण सद्वितीयत्वं सामान्येन सिद्धमिति
न साध्येनान्वितं निदर्शनम् । तथा घटस्यापि साध्यधर्मिणोऽशेषघटपक्षीकरणे
तेनैव सद्वितीयत्वमयुक्तमिति सामान्येनापि साधने तथाभूतेन पुरुषेण सद्वितीयत्वं
पारिशेष्यात्सिध्यतीति मनो मन्यते । अत्रेत्यादि । तादृशस्य पुरुषस्यानुक्तावपि
इच्छाव्याप्तस्य साध्यत्वात्तस्य चासिद्धत्वात् दृष्टान्तेऽनन्वयदोषः । साध्य-
सामान्येनेति । तादृशैव पुंसां विशेषणेन सद्वितीयत्वं साध्यते घटस्य यतो विशेषा-
पेक्षया दोषद्वयं स्यात्किन्तु सामान्येनान्यतरसद्वितीयत्वं धर्मिणो वक्तुमिष्टमतो-
यमदोष इत्यसारम् । सामान्यस्यैवाभावात् । सद्वितीयं हि घटेन वा स्यादुक्त-
पुरुषेण वा । तत्र घटस्य साध्यधर्मित्वेनाश्रयणात् नानेन सद्वितीयत्वमभेदात्
भेदाधिष्ठानं हि सद्वितीयत्वं । नापि पुरुषेणानन्वयदोषादिति । एतदेवाह (१) तदेव
सामान्यं न सिद्ध्यतीत्यादि । अनाप्तैरभ्युपगम उक्तप्रकारेण देहेभ्योन्तरं नाभ्युप-
गम्यते परेणानन्वयादिदोषात् । तुल्यं नाशेपीति । यथा हि घटेन घटस्य सद्वितीयत्वं
विरोधात्साध्यमुपपद्यते । नापि तादृशा पुरुषेणानन्वयशङ्क्येत्युभयाभावेन सामान्येन
साधनं तथान्नापीत्याह । घटशब्दभेदेनेत्यादि । न शब्दे शब्दानित्यत्वं सा-

ध्यमनन्वयाशङ्क्या । नापि घटा (b) नित्यत्वं शब्दे साध्यमसंभवात् । यदि च घटानित्यत्वं शब्दं प्रति ज्ञायते तदाभ्युपेतविरोधः । शब्दे घटानित्यत्वस्यानभ्युपगमात् । आदिशब्दादनुमानविरोधोप्यन्यधर्मस्यान्यत्र बाध्यमानत्वात् । शब्दभेदेन च कल्पने साध्यविकलतादोषो दृष्टान्ते । असिद्धेन विनाशेनेति । धर्मविशेषापरिग्रहेण विनाशसामान्यस्य सिद्धत्वात् । तद्वत् इति विनाशवतः ।

अन्येनैव प्रकारेण सद्वितीयत्वप्रयोगेऽन्वयवैकल्यादिकमस्माभिरुक्तं तथा त्वन्यथैव परिकल्प्य तुल्यदोषतापादनं कृतमित्येतत्कथयितुमाह । न हीत्यादि । अन्यतरार्थान्तरत्वं सामान्यं घटे साध्यधर्मिणि कुड्ये च दृष्टान्तधर्मिणि उपनीतमिति प्रतिक्षिप्तं साध्यमिष्टं परस्य साध्यधर्मिगतम्बान्यतरार्थान्तरत्वं साध्यं दृष्टान्तधर्मिगतम्वेति यावत् । कुतो नानात्वे सति नानत्वमेति तत् (?) न ह्यत्रान्यतरार्थान्तरत्वं कुड्यधर्मो घटेस्ति साध्यं नापि घटधर्मः कुड्ये साध्यमिष्टमन्वेतीति साध्यवैकल्यादिकं ब्रूमो येन तुल्यदोषता स्यात् साध्यधर्म एव तादृश इति (१) यथोक्तपुरुषघटापेक्षयान्यतरार्थान्तरभावलक्षणः निरूप्यमाणो न सिद्धोस्ति (१) न हि घटस्यार्थान्तरभावो विरोधात् । देहस्याप्यनन्वयाशङ्क्या नेष्यते तेनेत्येतावता सामान्येन शब्दः साध्यतेऽयोगव्यवच्छेदेन केनचिदनित्यत्वेनायोगमिच्छन्तीति तत्संबन्धः साध्यते (१) **तथार्थान्तरभावे स्यात् तद्वान् कुम्भोपीति सूत्रं व्याख्यातुमाह । अन्यतरार्थान्तरभावस्त्विति ।** तु शब्दो विशेषे । यथाऽनित्यत्वं वस्तुधर्मो न तथा सद्वितीयत्वं वस्तुधर्मः । इच्छाबलेन च व्यवस्थापनात् । न ह्येतत्कार्यं स्वभावो वा भावस्य युज्यते त्विच्छाबलेन संचारार्थान्तरत्वेऽपि वर्तमानत्वात् । तद्वान् कुम्भ इत्यस्य विवरणमन्यतरसद्वितीयघट इति....

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(हेतुः)

१०—(३।१) कान्तिक एव प्राणादिः । साधारणमपि खलु प्रमेयत्वमसंस्कृताप- b वादिनः । असमन्वययोगात् । अव्यभिचारितान्वयः स पक्ष एवास्तीति ।

अन्वयिनमेव हेतुमाह । अत्रापि कथमव्यतिरेको विपक्षात् । कथम्वा सपक्ष एवास्तीति । किं (सप)क्षस्यावधारणस्य फलं यदि न विपक्षेऽस्तित्वं व्यवच्छिद्यते व्यवच्छेदे वा कथमव्यतिरेकः । न हि सत्ता प्रतिषेधादन्यो व्यतिरेकः । विप्रतिषिद्धं चैतत् । नान्वयो न व्यतिरेक इति । य एव खलु नेत्यन्वयप्रतिषेधः स एव व्यतिरेक इति । तत्पुनरिदमायातमसतोव्यतिरेकायोगादिति । अत्रेदमेव पुनर्वाच्यं कथमसतोऽन्वयप्रतिषेध इति वस्तुरूपानुकर्षी खल्वसति प्रतिषेधो न सम्भवेत् । न हि

पर्युदास एवैको नञो विषयः। किन्तिहि (१) प्रत्यक्षप्रतिषेधोपि। न हि तस्यासति विरोधः। सोऽपि न सम्भवति। अधिकरणाद्यर्थानां प्रतिषेधविषयोपदर्शनीनां विभक्तीनामयोगादिति चेत्। उक्तोत्तरमेतत्। तस्मान्न हेतुः कश्चिदन्वयी नाम। न च प्रमेयत्वस्य विपक्षेऽन्वयात्मा सः। त्रिविधो हि धर्मो भावाभावोभयाश्रय इत्युक्तः। नाभावस्य कश्चिद्धर्म इति चेत्। नन्वयमेवास्य धर्मविरहो धर्मः। न हि वस्तुरूपमेव धर्मा असन्तोपि हि केनचित्प्रकरणेन इमं व्यवहारमुपनीयन्ते। अन्यथा हि तत्राव्यवहार एव स्यात्। न च सतामपि परमार्थतः कश्चिद्धर्मधर्माभावः। केवलं बुद्धिरेव सम्बन्धमुपरचयतीत्युक्तं वा त्ति के। बुद्धिकृता च घटनाऽस्तु केन वार्यते। सदसदुभयानुभवव्यवस्थाश्च तदतत्समयवतामनिश्चितसाधना नैकान्त-ग्राहिण्यः स्युस्तस्माद्यथा कथञ्चिदप्यनेना(सत्ता) निश्चिताः। प्रमेयास्ते वक्तव्याः। न हि भावविषयमेव प्रमाणं। अविसंवादलक्षणत्वात्प्रमाणस्य। उल्लसती तद्वारे न व्यवस्थापयेत्। न चेत्स्वविषये परेण वाध्येत। तदन्यप्रमाणलक्षणम-स्तीति प्रमेयो.....।

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a ११—“अभिप्रायाविसंवादा”(२।५६)दि। “मणिप्रदीपप्रभयोरि”-(२।५७)
त्यादि वा त्ति क श्लो क द्वयवृत्तौ वक्ष्यते।

केचिदाहुः (१) यदि मणिप्रभायां मणिज्ञानं भ्रान्तमपि सम्वादादनुमानमिष्यते (१)
प्रमाणमविसंवादावचनात् तदा प्रत्यक्षानुमानव्यतिरिक्तं तृतीयमिदं प्रमाण-
मापतितं (१) तथा हि मणिप्रभायां मणिबुद्धेर्न प्रत्यक्षं भ्रान्तत्वात्सविकल्पकत्वाच्च।
प्रत्यक्षत्वं त्वेतद्विपरीतं। नाप्यनुमानमलिङ्गजत्वात्। न चाप्रमाणं वस्तुसंवादात्।

अत्रोच्यते। अनुमानमेवैतत् (१) तथा हि सामान्यमनुमानस्य लक्षण-
मनन्तरं स्थापयिष्यते (१) परोक्षस्याप्यन्यतः सम्बन्धाप्रतिपत्तिरनुमानमिति।
इह च मणौ मणिप्रभासम्बन्धात्तत्कार्यत्वात् तस्याश्च प्रभायां मणिभ्रान्तिरुत्पद्यते
(१) ततः कार्यलिङ्गजत्वादनुमानमेव। तथाहि (१) मणिप्रभायामादावभ्रान्त-
मेव चक्षुर्विज्ञानमुपजायते। तेन च कार्यलिङ्गस्वरूपमधिगतं यतः स्वलक्षण-
मेव लिङ्गं। तादात्म्यतदुत्पत्तिभ्यां च गमकत्वं स्थितं। न च कल्पितरूपस्या-
न्यत्वं। तादात्म्यतदुत्पत्ती वा स्तः।

कथं स्वलक्षणेनान्वय इति चेत्। न ब्रूमस्तेनैवेति किन्तु तज्जातीयेन स्वल-
क्षणान्तरेण। तथा चोक्तं (१) तज्जातीयोपि हि नामाभेदविवक्षायां स एवेति (१)
तस्मात् समानजातीयस्वलक्षणान्येव विजातीयव्यावृत्त्युपाधिकानि साकल्येना-
पेक्षितानि सामान्यमित्युच्यन्ते। यत्रापि कृतकत्वादयो व्यवस्थाप्यन्ते तत्रापि मूढ-

प्रतिपादनोपायविधानार्थो धर्मधर्मविभागः (१) गमकन्तु लिङ्गं स्वलक्षणमेव (१) तथा चाह (१) धर्मधर्मितया भेदः कल्पितो नार्थोपीति । धूमाल्लिङ्गाल्लिङ्ग- (b) नि ज्ञानमुत्पद्यमानं न धूम एवाध्यारोपेण प्रवर्तते किन्त्वन्यत्र प्रदेशे । मणि- भ्रान्तिस्तु मणिप्रभास्य एव लिङ्गे लिङ्गिनमारोपयन्तीति चेत् । ततः किं न (:) हीयतां (१) सम्बन्धादुत्पन्नत्वं हीयते देशभ्रान्तिरत्राधिकेत्येतावत्तु ब्रूमः (१) तत्रैव देशे मणिप्रापकत्वे माभूत्प्राप्यं मणिमात्रप्रापणे तु केनानुमानत्वं वार्यते (१) सर्वञ्चानुमानं भ्रान्तमिष्यत एव । मणिभ्रान्तावन्वयव्यतिरेकस्मरणन्नास्तीति चेत् । यदि नास्ति न तावतानुमानत्वाभावः यो ह्यन्वयव्यतिरेकावस्मृत्वा द्रागेव धूमाद्वह्निं प्रत्येति तदा किं तज्ज्ञानमनुमानं नेष्यते । त्रिरूपात्तु लिङ्गात्तदुत्पद्यत इत्येतावतानुमानमिति ब्रूमः । यद्यनुमानमेव मणिप्रभायां मणिभ्रान्तिः किमर्थं तर्हि सा दृष्टान्तीक्रियते (१) न ह्यनुमानस्य सामान्येनाविसम्बादे साध्येऽनुमान- स्यैव दृष्टान्तत्वं युक्तं । अयमप्यदोषो यतो मणिभ्रान्ते भ्रान्तत्वेपि परो वक्तृविस- म्बादमात्रमिच्छति । अन्यस्य तु धूमादिलिङ्गस्याभ्रान्तत्वं वस्तुप्रतिभासित्वं चान्यथा ह्यविसम्बादित्वं न स्यादित्यतो मणिभ्रान्तिर्दृष्टान्तत्वेनोपादीयते इति । तदेतद्ब्रूतश्च दुःखञ्च दुरुपपादञ्च विसम्बादकञ्चासम्बद्धञ्चेति न विदुषां प्रीतिकरमिति वयमत्र ब्रूमः ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥

मणिप्रभायां मणिज्ञानं न प्रमाणं सत्याथार्जनितत्वान्न प्रत्यक्षं । नाप्यनुमानं (8a) तल्लक्षणाभावात् । यो हि यल्लक्षणहीनः स तेन रूपेण व्यवह्रियते यथा गौर्वाजिरू- पेणेत्यतिप्रसिद्धमेतत् (१) त्रिरूपाल्लिङ्गान्निश्चितादनुमेये ज्ञानमनुमानं (१) तदत्र नान्वयो (१) न हि या या प्रभा सा सर्वा मणिरित्यन्वयः सिद्ध्यति (१) नापि व्यति- रेको (१) यो मणिर्न भवति स प्रभापि न भवतीति । व्याप्यव्यापकभावासिद्धेः । नापि पक्षत्वं मण्याकारज्ञानस्य प्रभाजनितस्य मिथ्यात्वात् । न चागृहीत- सम्बन्धो लिङ्गादनुमेयं प्रत्येति । योप्यविधानेन द्रागेव प्रत्येति स पूर्वमेव गृहीत- सम्बन्धोऽनुमेयं लिङ्गात्प्रतिपद्यतेऽन्यथा प्रतिपत्तेरयोगात् । नापि धूमवद्वह्नेः कार्यत्वेन मणेः प्रभा प्रतिभासते कारणरूपेणैव तस्याः प्रतिभासनाज्ज्ञापकत्वाच्च (१) निश्चितं लिङ्गं भवति नानिश्चितं सन्दिग्धधूमवत् (१) न चात्र निश्चयोस्ति मिथ्याज्ञानत्वात् ।

यत्तूक्तं (१) प्रभायामभ्रान्तमेव चक्षुर्विज्ञानमादौ जायते तेन कार्यत्वं प्रभाया निश्चीयत इति (१) तदेतदतिसाहसमिन्द्रियज्ञानमेवेदं स्पष्टत्वात् विरक्तज्ञानवत् भ्रान्तमिन्द्रियादिदोषात् प्रभां मणिरूपेणाविच्छिन्ददुत्पद्यते (१) न च तत्र प्रभाकारो वेद्यते (१) न चासम्बेद्यमानाकारमालम्बनं सर्वेषामालम्बनत्वप्रसंगात् (१) न चेयं

मानसी भ्रान्तिरिन्द्रियदोषनिवृत्तौ पुनः स्वरूपेणैव विषयग्रहणात् । न च तादात्म्य-
प्रतिबन्धो मणिप्रभयोर्भेदात् विषये चाधिगते ज्ञानस्य प्रमाणाप्रमाणत्वञ्चेति ।

- (8b) (8b) तेन हि निर्विषया कस्यचित्प्रवृत्तिरस्त्यत्र च मणिज्ञानं प्रभाविषयं
न च प्रभा मणिर्येन यथाध्यवसायं प्रवर्तमानः स कृती स्यात् । अनुमानन्तु लिङ्गरू-
पतां न व्यभिचरति (1) अनर्थजन्यतया च तन्मिथ्याज्ञानं भ्रान्तन्तु सामान्याकारेणा-
विजातीयव्यावृत्तरूपता हि वस्तुनः स्थितैवान्यथा विजातीयतद्रूपमपि तद्वस्तु
स्यादिति तदाकारो वस्तुसन्धायी । प्रभायान्तु न मणिरूपता विजातीयव्यावृत्त-
रूपास्ति प्रभामात्रालम्बनत्वात् (1) अनुमानस्य त्वनुमेयाकारत्वेन वस्तुसंस्पर्शात्
(1) सति प्रतिबन्धे प्रामाण्यं प्रभायान्तु मणिज्ञानं नैवमिति नेदमनुमानम् (1)
अत एव “वादिप्रतिवादिप्रसिद्धपक्षाद्वहिःस्थितमिति दृष्टान्तीकृतं प्रतिबन्ध-
स्यात्यन्तमाहात्म्यप्रदर्शनार्थं यदेवं प्रकारमविसम्बादकं परमार्थेन त्वप्रमाणमेवेद-
मि”त्यन्तं मिथ्याज्ञानत्वादत एव शास्त्रकारो वक्ति ।

“मिथ्याज्ञानाविशेषेपि विशेषोऽर्थक्रियां प्रती”ति ।

एतदेव व्याचष्टे । अत्र हि मिथ्याज्ञानात्प्रदीपप्रभायां मणिरूपेण ग्रहणान्नेदं
विशिष्यते किन्तु मिथ्याज्ञानमेवेदं कपा.....पुटकुञ्चिकाविवरदृश्यमानायां
प्रदीपप्रभायां मणिज्ञानवत् (1) मिथ्याज्ञानत्वमनूद्य व्यतिरेकमाह (1) “विशेषोऽर्थ
क्रियां प्रती”ति । अपिशब्दस्त्वत्रातिशये । तदेवं शास्त्रकारवचनं न्यायञ्चोल्लंघ्य
यत्प्रामाण्यप्रतिपादनं तदत्र कपटप्रकटनमित्यसारविचाराद्विरम्यते ॥

× × ×

१२—एवमपि यदा सम्भवति(?) तदानुमानस्य सुतरामविसंबादः (1)

× × ×

१३—(१३७) यद्यप्यपूर्वसत्त्वाप्रादुर्भावो बुद्धाश्चापर्यन्तास्त्र्यध्वसु तथापि
न संसारक्षयोस्त्याकाशाक्षयतापर्यन्ततेव । एकैकस्यां दिश्यन्तत्वात्सत्त्ववाहोः ॥

अन्यत्र गतचित्तोपि चक्षुषा रूपमीक्षते ।

तत्संकेताग्रहस्तत्र स्पष्टस्तज्जा च कल्पना ॥

सामान्यवाचिनः शब्दास्तदेकार्था च कल्पना ।

अभावे निर्विकल्पस्य विशेषाधिगमः कथम् ॥

तदुपेक्षिततत्त्वार्थः कृत्वा गजनिमीलनम् ।

केवलं लोकबुद्ध्यैव बाह्यचिन्ता प्रतन्यते ॥

को वा विरोधो बहवः संजातातिशयाः पृथक् ।

भवेयुः कारणं बुद्धेर्यदि नामेन्द्रियादिवत् ॥

भिन्नकालं कथं ग्राह्यमिति चेद् ग्राह्यताम्बिदुः ।

आस्वाद्य कोपि लवणं जलमेकदेशे सर्वं तथेति लवणाम्भसि वेत्ति यद्वत् ।

धूमं महानसभवाग्निभवम्बिदित्वा सर्वन्तथेति निपुणस्त्रिगत्यवैति(?) ॥

येषु सत्सु भवत्येव यत्तेभ्यो ह्यस्य कल्पने ।

तद्वेतुत्वेन सर्वत्र हेतूनामनवस्थितिः ॥

रूपगन्धरसस्पर्शसमुदायघटे यथा ।

पृष्ठजस्यावसायः स्याद्रूपग्राहिणि चाक्षुषे ॥

अधिकोवसायोध्यवसायः धूममेकं दृष्ट्वा सर्वं वह्निमध्यवसितवान् ॥

अनुपलम्भसहायेन प्रत्यक्षेण मयाग्निजन्मा धूमः परिच्छिन्न इति सकल-
तदन्यापोढव्यक्तिजातमन्तर्भाव्यैव तद्वतोत्पन्नस्याध्यवसायस्य सम्वेदनात् । चक्षु-
विज्ञानेन रूपमात्रं दृष्टं तद्वलोत्पन्नपृष्ठजेन विकल्पेन रूपगन्धरसस्पर्शसमुदायो
घटो मया दृष्ट इत्यध्यवसीयते । अत्र विप्रतिपत्तौ प्रमाणव्यवहारोच्छेदः स्यात् ।

×

×

×

अनुमानपत्र—१५

सर्वज्ञमिति—२५

प्रत्यक्ष—४४

परार्थानुमान—५५

APPENDIX II.

प्रमाणवार्तिक-वृत्तिस्थ-कारिकाप्रतीकानुक्रमणी

अकार्यकृति तत्कारि	३।११०	अजातपूर्वसामर्थ्यात्	२।२४६
अक्रमेण ग्रहादन्त्य	२।४८७	अज्ञातव्यतिरेकस्य	४।२११
अक्षयित्वं च दोषाणां	१।१४५	अज्ञातस्य स्वयं	२।१६
अक्षवद्रूपरसव	१।४५०	अज्ञातार्थप्रकाशो	१।७
अक्षाश्रयं चेद्यत्किञ्चि	२।२९५	अज्ञानयुक्ता तृष्णैव	१।१९१
अक्षीणशक्तिः संस्कारे	१।२००	अज्ञोपदेशकरणे	१।३२
अक्षणोर्यथैक आलोको	२।२६५	अञ्जनादेरिव व्यक्तेः	३।१४७
अख्यापिते	४।२१	अणूनां सविशेषश्च	२।१९६
अगतीनां किमाधारे	१।७०	अतत्कारिविवेकेन	३।११०
अगुणग्राहिणो (पि)	१।१५७	अतत्कार्यपरावृत्ति	३।१३९
अगृहीत्वोत्तरं ज्ञानं	२।५१५	अतत्कार्यार्थभेदेन	३।८२
अग्निस्वभाव S स० त० ५०	३।३५	अतत्समान	२।२०
*[अग्नेरथीन्तरोत्पत्तौ भवेत्	३।२७२	अतत्स्वभावोऽनुभवो	२।२७५
अंगमेव तयाऽसिद्धं	४।८८	अतदात्मनि तादात्म्य	२।३६१
अग्रहादेकबुद्धि	२।२२८	अतद्रूपे च ताद्रूप्यं	३।२४९
अग्राहकः स्यात्सर्व्वस्य	२।२७२	अतद्वानपि	४।२३६
अग्राह्यग्राहक	२।२७२	अतद्वानभिसम्बन्धात्	४।२३७
अग्राह्यं न हि तेजोस्ति	२।५२८	अताद्रूप्येण भेदो	२।३१३
अंगमेव	४।८८	अतिप्रसङ्गात् कर्म	३।१५८
अचेतनत्त्वान्नान्य	१।५०	अतिप्रसङ्गाद् यद्	१।३८

* बन्धनी[]स्थः पाठः from the Ms. (PVb. See प्रमाणवार्तिक-वृत्तिटीका) belonging to the Monastery of Tag-la (Tibet) supplied by Nyāyācārya Abhaya simha.

S=सन्मतितर्क । P=प्रमेयकल्पसार्तण्ड । V=न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका ।

B=भामती ।

अतिप्रसङ्गोऽभाव	२।२७	अथार्थस्यैव	२।४६५
अतिशये वा	३।१६१	अथापि तपसः शक्त्या	१।२७८
अतीतमपदृष्टा	२।१८०	अथापि भावशक्ति	३।२९२
अतीतादिविकल्पानां	२।५१९	अथार्थस्यैव कश्चित्स	२।४३३
अतीताजातयोर्वापि	३।२०७	अथाशक्तं कदाशक्ता	२।२१
अतीतानागतं वाच्यं	२।१८	अथास्त्यतिशयः S.	३।१८२
अतीतानागताप्यर्थे	२।३४	अथैकायतनत्वेपि	२।१९७
अतीतार्थग्रहे सिद्धे	२।३६९	अदर्शनाज्जगत्य	२।३६२
अतीन्द्रियाणामर्थानां	२।९२	अदुःखोत्पादहेतु	१।२०५
अतीन्द्रियार्थवित्	३।३१६	अदूषितोऽस्य विषये	१।२२४
अतो ज्ञानप्रभा	३।३८	अदृशस्य विशिष्टस्य	४।१५३
अतो न रूपं घट	१।१०३	अदृश्ये निश्चया	४।२७६
अतो लक्षणशून्यत्वा	२।२१५	अदृष्टग्रहणेष्वदि	२।२३९
अतो हि धर्मधर्मिभ्यां	४।४०	अदृष्टदृष्टयोन्येन	२।४६८
अत्यन्तभेदाभेदौ	३।१७५	अदृष्टनाशादगति	१।२६५
अत्यासन्ने च सुव्यक्त	२।४१३	अदृष्टपूर्वमस्तीति	१।१६८
अत्रानर्थक्रिया	३।९३	अदृष्टहेतुरप्यन्य	३।२४३
अत्रापि लोके	४।१२२	अदृष्टान्तमतीतार्थ	२।१८०
अत्राभ्युपाय	४।९२	अदृष्टावरणाच्चो	२।३४३
अथ कस्मात्	२।१९१	अदृष्टिमात्रमादाय	४।२०७
अथ प्रसिद्धि	३।३२२	अदृष्टिर्मन्दनेत्रस्य	१।८४
अथ नोत्पद्यते तस्मान्न	२।४५२	अदृष्टेः प्रतिषेधाच्च	३।११९
अथ बुद्धेस्तथाभावान्न	१।२६७	अदृष्टैकार्थयोगादेः	२।४५५
अथ वादीष्टतां ब्रूयाद्	४।४५	अदेहरागादृष्टेश्च	१।१८९
अथ वा ब्रुवतो	४।११८	अदोषश्च तदन्योपि	१।१५०
अथात्मरूपज्ञो	२।४४४	अद्वयं शबला	४।१३२
अथ सानुभवः	२।३२१	अधर्ममूलं रागादि	४।१०७
अथ स्वरूपं न तर्हि	२।४४७	अधूमहेतोर्धूमस्य	३।३६
अथ हेतुर्यथाभाव	१।११३	अनक्षजत्व	२।१८९
अथाज्ञानविशिष्टा	२।८०	अनक्षजस्वसिद्धयर्थ	२।२८९
अथात्र धर्मो	४।४५	अनग्निजन्यो धूमः	२।३९५
अथानग्नि	३।३५	अनग्निश्चेदधूमोऽसौ	४।२५७

अनङ्गीकृत	४।२६२	अनाश्रयात्सदसतो	२।६३
अनध्यवसिता	४।२८६	अनाश्रयान्निवृत्ते	१।११६
अनध्यवसितावगाहन	४।२८८	अनित्यताव्या	३।२६१
अनन्यत्वे विना	३।२७३	अनित्यताश्रुतिस्तेन	२।१११
अनन्यत्वेऽन्वयाभावा	२।१५१	अनित्यत्वसहेतुत्वे	४।१७५
अनन्यभाक् स एवा	३।१७१	अनित्यत्वेन यो	१।२०५
अनन्यसत्त्वनेयस्य	१।८२	अनित्यत्वे यथाऽकार्यं	३।१९२
अनन्यहेतुता तुल्या	२।१५८	अनित्यं यत्नसम्भूतं	३।२५१
अनन्वयाद्विशेषाणां	२।१२८	अनित्यव्यापितायाश्च	३।२६३
अनन्वयी धियो	२।१६८	[अनित्याव्याप्तितायाञ्च	३।२६१
अनन्वयोपि दृष्टान्ते	४।३२	अनित्यात्प्राह तेनेव	१।२५६
अनपेक्षश्च किं	४।२८३	अनित्यादेश्चाचैतन्य	१।२१७
अनपेक्षितवाह्यार्थ	३।६५	अनिराकरणे तेषु	३।११५
अनपेक्षितवाह्यार्थ	२।१८५	अनिवृत्तिप्रसङ्गश्च	१।५३
अनपेक्षितसाधर्म्यं	२।३६३	अनिश्चयकरं प्रोक्त	१।११८
अनपेक्ष्य न चे	२।१८६	अनिश्चयफलं प्रोक्तं	२।९४
अनपेक्ष्य यदा कार्यं	१।१६५	अनिश्चयफला	४।२७७
अनपेक्ष्याखिलं	४।८९	अनिषिद्धः प्रमाणाभ्यां	४।९१
अनिस्वभाव	३।३७	अनिष्टञ्चेत्प्रमाणं	४।२१५
अनभिष्वक्तशब्दानां	३।३९८	अनिष्टादा	३।३५
अनयोः संप्रतिबद्धा	१।२२२	अनीप्सितमसाध्यञ्चे	४।७१
अन्तर्कारशङ्का	२।३७१	अनुक्तावपि पक्षस्य	४।२३
अन्तर्गन्तरहेतुत्वे	१।९७	अनुक्तावपि वाञ्छया	४।३१
अनात्मभूत	२।३०३	अनुक्तोपीच्छया व्याप्तः	४।२९
अनादित्वाद्	३।२४६	अनुदाहरणं सर्वभावा	३।२६७
अनादिवासनोद्भूत B.	३।२०४	अनुमानञ्च जात्यादौ	२।१५४
अनादिवासनोद्भूत V.	४।२३४	अनुमानप्रसाध्य	४।११७
अनाधेयविशेषाणां	३।२९६	अनुमानस्य भेदेन	४।९२
अ(ना)नन्तर्यतो	२।१०६	अनुमानस्य सामान्य	४।८०
अनानात्मतया भेदे	४।२३१	अनुमानादनित्यादे	२।१०२
अना (न्तरीयकतार्थस्य	४।४७	अनुमानानुमेयार्थव्यव	४।१८३
अनाशकाय	१।६७	अनुमानाबहिर्भूता	४।१२९

अनुमानाबहिर्भूतो	४११०१	अन्यथा दर्शनापेक्षं	२११७२
अनुमाना(श्रयं) लिङं	११२८७	अन्यथा धर्मि	३११६
अनुमाविषये नेष्टं	४१२	अन्यथा पर	३१३१
अनुयान्तीम	२११७०	अन्यथार्थस्य	४१२७५
अनेकत्वेणुशो	२१४१०	अन्यथा वस्तु	३१५०
अनेकमपि यद्येक	३११०२	अन्यथा व्यभिचारी	३१५
अनेकया तद्ग्रहणे	२१४९१	अन्यथा शशशृङ्गादौ	४११६६
[अनेकशब्दसंघाते	३१२५६	अन्यथा सं	३१३२४
अनेकशब्दसन्तानं	३१२५६	अन्यथा सर्वसाध्योक्ते	४१२५
अनेकांगतया	३१२४८	अन्यथा स्यात् पदार्थानां	४१२३०
अनेकार्थाभिसम्बन्धे	३१२२८	अन्यथास्योपरोधः	४११३७
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ज्ञानस्याभेदिनो	२१२१२	तज्जे कर्मणि शक्ताः	११२८१
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[तदानर्थक्रियायोगा	३।९४	तद्वाधान्यविशे	४।१५६
तदान्यसम	२।३३९	तद्वाधामेव	४।१३९
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[PART III

Leading Articles

THE NAME "CHOTA NAGPUR"

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The prefix 'Chota' in "Chota Nagpur" has given rise to various theories and interpretations among scholars. Mr. J. H. Hewitt,¹ who spells 'Chota' as 'Chutia' derives its meaning from 'Chut' and says: "The very ancient Nagbansi family who gave their name to Chutia Nagpur, meaning the mother (Chut) of the Nagas, and who still rule the country also belong to this race, whose cognisance is the Naga cobra snake standing erect and this they used to depict as a Tilak or caste symbol on their foreheads, according to the custom observed by the Egyptian Kushika Kings. In their snake genealogy the mother snake is

¹ Hewitt—Primitive Traditional History, Vol. I, pp. 251-52.
Also Monier Williams—Religious Thought and Life in India,
p. 324.

the five-headed Naga, worshipped yearly throughout India on the 5th of Sraban (July-August) as Nag-Panchami, whose image is depicted as watching over Shiva, Krishna and Buddha”.

This explanation has the advantage of simplicity and accounts for the present custom of the Nagbansi chiefs. But the meaning seems improbable, as there is no such word as ‘chut’, meaning mother, either in Sanskrit or Mundari or any other kindred language of the aborigines.

A novel theory of the origin of Chota Nagpur has been propounded by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, published in the Modern Review of Calcutta in 1907, in which he has tried to establish that Chota Nagpur was first colonised about the 6th century A.D. by the Nag-worshipping Bhuiyas who were associated with a class of ‘legendary heroes called the Chutias and that the two together contributed to the name—“Chota Nagpur”. He seems to adduce from Sir Edward Gait’s History of Assam the fact that the Chutias and Bhuiyas were dominant in that country, prior to its conquest by the Ahoms in the thirteenth century and considers that these Chutias gave their name to Chutia or Chota Nagpur. Mr. Mazumdar further supposes that the Bhuiyas and the Chutias were the earliest inhabitants of Chota Nagpur and that they were pushed towards the east and south by the Mundas. This view appears to be unfounded and untenable. All authoritative writers and documents on the subject such as Col. Dalton, Col. Tickel, Hunter, Risley, Ball, Bell, Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, Bradley Birt, the Settlement Report of the Ranchi District, the Imperial Gazetteers

of India and the District Gazetteer of Ranchi (1917) are unanimous in their statement that the Mundas were the earliest inhabitants of Chota Nagpur, and none of them has a word to say about the Chutiyas or the Bhuiyas as prior to the Mundas. If it is urged that the unanimity has little significance, as all the authorities have indulged in sheer speculation, Mr. Mazumdar's speculation is unsound and is opposed to fact. That this theory is unsound was demonstrated by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy in an article in the J. B. & O. R. S. published in 1932.

Col. Dalton, in his *Ethnology of Bengal* (p. 81) says about the Chutias thus: "About the eighth century of our era the Hindu dynasty (on the valley of the Bramhaputra) was overthrown by the Chutia or Kachari hordes". Again, "I have pointed out the remarkable linguistic affinities between the Chutia and Bodo or Kachari, and this tradition of their having been driven from Upper Assam by the Ahoms is confirmatory of the common origin of the two races, and the expulsion alluded to must mean the conquest of the Chutias". About the Chutias, Sir Edward Gait in his history of Assam writes: "The Chutiyas now number about a twelfth of a million, and are found chiefly in Lakhimpur and the adjacent part of Sibsagar. Their language, which is still known to the Deoris or priestly section of the tribe, is unmistakably Bodo, but their appearance suggests that they absorbed considerable numbers of the earlier emigrants of the race, just as in more recent times they have inter-married with the Ahoms". "The earliest known centre of Chutiya (Kachari) power and civilisation",

says Mr. Endle, "is Sadiya, in the north-eastern frontier of Assam". The same authority further informs us that their language belongs to the Bodo group of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of the Tibeto-Chinese family of language; their features approximate very closely to the Mongolian type, and Tibet and China are believed to have been their original home. There is, therefore not the slightest suggestion offered by any authority about the occupation (by the Chutias) of the plateau of Chota Nagpur. Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy who has been carrying on first-hand field investigation into the ethnology of the different tribes of Chota Nagpur for about 40 years has not a word to say about the Chutiyas, in the list of several hundred clans or sects into which the Munda tribe is divided. Nor does there appear to be any justification for the view that the Bhuiyas had ever occupied the Chota Nagpur plateau before the Mundas. But so far as the central plateau of the district of Ranchi is concerned, the traditions of the Mundas, which have found support in the discovery of the Asura Site point to the occupation of the country by the Asurs before the Mundas appeared on the plateau. Thus Mr. Mazumdar's attempt at identifying the Bhuiyas with either the Chutiyas of Assam or the Baro-Bhuiyas of Bengal and Assam has failed to convince his readers. In fact, there is no evidence to prove that the Chutiyas or the Bhuiyas ever came to Chota Nagpur or near it; on the other hand it is a fact, and all authorities agree that the Chutiyas entered Assam from the north and north-east of that country and not from its south or south-west. Mr. Mazumdar's theory, therefore, that "the

name, Chutia Nagpur is traced to the tribal name of the legendary heroes—the Chutias who once conquered the country”, is highly improbable and has no foundation in fact.

A plausible explanation of the name of the country seems to be the one given by Walter Hamilton, in his *Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindostan*, published in London in 1820, where the author states: “This sub-division of Bahar is designated by the term “Chota” (little) to distinguish it from the other Nagpoor possessed by the Bhoonslah Maharatta family, and the name (Nagpoor) indicates that in the opinion of the natives the territory contains diamonds”. And, as to Chota Nagpur the writer says—“Still further to the south there is a third and elevated region, containing 18,000 square miles, though proportionately of considerable value. The highland includes the modern sub-division of Palamow, Ramghur, and Chota Nagpoor, bounded on the west by the soubah of Allahabad, by Gundwana and Orissa and on the east by Bengal. The last division is geographically termed the three Bellads or Cantons, as is also sometimes described, under the appellation of Kokerah, but more commonly Nagpoor, from the diamond mines it contains, or is supposed to contain”. We may mention here that the same explanation of the name, Chota Nagpoor is given in Dr. Francis Buchanan (afterwards B. Hamilton) in the *East India Gazetteer*, first published in 1815.

Scholars very soon seem to have been prejudiced by the old traditions that have gathered round the name of “Chutia”, a suburb of the present town of Ranchi.

According to the Munda traditional migration, the patriarch Chutu hadam (meaning in Mundari an old man) was the founder of this suburban village. The tradition further ascribes to it the honour of being the royal seat of the Nagbansi raja, who was fourth in descent from the traditional King, Phani Mukut Rai.

The British officers, posted in this part of the country, in order to make more widely known the name of the suburb "Chutia", because, perhaps of its traditional association with the seat of the Nagbansi Rajas, transferred the only great fair of the country from the Bank of the Subarnarekhā river between Silli and Jhāldā to the village of Chutia. This fair which was started in February, 1851, lasted till 1877.¹

The village can even now show a temple, bearing an inscription, on the northern wall to the effect that it was constructed by the guru of the raja in Sambat 1742, corresponding to 1684 A.D.

There is a magnifying delight of the mind in associating a name with an historical event or place. Thus originated the theory that the country was named after the village Chutia, a place of historical memory. This particular derivation of the name was sponsored by Col. Dalton, the Second Commissioner under Act

¹ A letter dated 28-2-1851 from Mr. J. H. Craford, Agent to the Governor General of South-Western Frontier Agency, as Chota Nagpur Division was then called, addressed to the Secretary, Sudder Board of Revenue.

Another letter from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Finance Department, dated 31-3-1876, proposing withdrawal of Govt. grant of Rs. 500/-. These two letters have been traced in the record room of the Commissioner of the Chota Nagpur Division.

XX of 1854, and by Geographer Blochmann. The belief found favour for some time. Mr. G. C. Depree, Officer-in-charge of the Topographical Survey, in his report, published in 1868, explained the meaning of the name of the plateau by saying that "the word 'Chota' is a corruption from 'Chutia', the name of a village of note lying one mile east of Ranchee; thus the country is known as Chutia Nagpore amongst the natives". This derivation of the name 'Chota' for a time held the ground, so that when the District Gazetteer of Ranchee was written in 1917, the writer, without assigning any reason accepted the above meaning and wrote that "this interpretation (of Hamilton) is almost certainly incorrect and the name is probably derived from Chutia, a village close to Ranchi, which is reputed to be the original home of the Nagbansi chiefs".¹

But it may be pointed out that the prefix 'Chota' to Nagpur is of comparatively recent origin, having been used for the first time by the British in the latter half of the 18th century, and more regularly from the middle of the 19th century of the Christian era. The ancient names by which this country was called were Murandā in the Vāyu Puran; Mundā in the Vishnu Puran; Mundāla by Ptolemy and Monedes by Pliny. Hien-tsang refers this tract as Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na or Kiran Suborna, lying at a distance of 700 li or 117 miles to the north-west of Tamralipti. Another Chinese traveller, Fahien, coming up to Bodh Gaya was afraid to proceed further south and named the

¹ District Gazetteer, Ranchi, page 2.

mountainous country to the south "Kukkut-lādā", which has been identified by Cunningham with Kurkihar, 16 miles to the south-east of Gaya. The early and the mediaeval Sanskrit literature called the plateau by the names of 'Pulinda-des' or Poulinda and Dasārṇa. The later Sanskrit literature called the modern Chota Nagpur by the name of 'Jhārkhand', the land of forests. The Muhammadan historians who knew the country as "Kokerah" or "Kokra" also named it "Coira Orissa", and occasionally also, in the later period "Nagpur", but without the prefix "Chota".

Even in the earlier years of the British rule, in official reports and other publications, the country was generally named "Nagpore". Thus when the East India Company in 1771 A.D. for the first time entered into a revenue settlement with the then Raja, Drip Nath Sahi, the country was simply described as Kukrah. In a letter addressed to the Governor at Fort William, dated Ramgur, 12th August, 1774, from Captain Camac, who was the first British Officer to enter Chota Nagpur the country was named simply 'Nagpore'. In Sir John Shore's famous Minute of the 18th September, 1789, the country was still 'Nagpore'. It was for the first time, in 1792, that James Rennell¹ in his map of Hindustan prefixed the term 'Chuta' to Nagpur, but it was not till 1812 that Nagpur was officially recognised as 'Chota Nagpur' by the Parliament. (Cf. The Fifth Report of the Select Committee

¹ The conquered Provinces on the south of Behar, containing Ramgur, Palamow, and Chuta Nagpur with their Dependencies.

on the Affairs of the East India Co., published in London). The examination of the official reports shows that the prefix 'chota' was not regularly maintained by all British officials. The name appears to be used from the forties of the nineteenth century, or more properly from 1854, when Thornton in his *Gazetteer* described the country under the heading 'Chuta Nagpore or Nagpore the Lesser'. The same view has been shared by Mr. W. W. Hunter,¹ when he says: The name Chota is the modern corruption of Chutia. Rennell's map has 'Chuttiah' and in 1787, Mr. Grant (Fifth Report, Vol. I, pp. 503) speaks of the Raja's estate as 'Chutea Nagpur'. Chutia in the local dialect of Hindi means a 'mouse'.

It may also be pointed out that the idea that 'Chota' of Nagpur was from the village 'Chutia', most probably originated in the mis-pronunciation of the foreigners and their indiscriminate spellings. It appears that the foreigners could not pronounce the letter "Chh", and hence 'Chota' or 'Chhota' was spelt as 'Chuta'. With the kind permission of the Commissioner of the Chota Nagpur Division, the writer searched the old records in his record room and noticed that the arbitrary way in which Indian names were spelt in English has caused great confusion in regard to their pronunciation and consequently, in most cases to their significance. As a few examples, we may cite: Ranchee for Ranchi; Poorulea for Purulia; Hazareebaugh for Hazaribagh; Lohardugga for Lohardage; Sherghotty for Sherghati; Anal Babu for Atul

¹ W. W. Hunter—Statistical Account of Bengal, 1877, Vol. XVI, pp. 321.

Babu; Chunder for Chandra; Woomesh for Umesh; and Surroop for Swarup. Before the adoption of the present spelling 'Chota' we meet with all possible spellings, e.g., 'Chuta', 'Chotta', 'Chutea', 'Chuttiah', 'Chutteah', 'Chutiya', 'Chootiah', 'Choota', 'Chut', 'Chootah', 'Chutia'—perhaps this list almost completes all possible permutations and combinations. It therefore seems highly probable that when the spelling reached this anomalous and confusing stage, an idea gradually gained ground in the minds of the scholars that it was time to explain its historical significance by associating it with the village 'Chutia', around which so many historical traditions have gathered. Spiritual interpretation of common events is a hobby with some men. Similarly, an historian's hobby is to trace the historicity of every name. It is a pity that the old theory of the Chutia origin of Chota Nagpur is upheld by some, even though the old spellings have been definitely abandoned in favour of the present accepted form, 'Chota'.

The chief need for the writing of history to-day is really to reconsider most of the historical views, which have been dominant for the last few generations. The aristocratic historians seem very often to have a child-like faith in the statements made by official persons. As a matter of fact the most likely place to seek the truth is in the whispered word, or in the private letter, or in some apparently irrelevant tradition which nobody suspects, has the truth imbedded in it. The term tradition or popular saying is applied to the larger manifestation of the popular mind. Hawthorn has truly said: "Nobody can make a tradition,

it takes a century to make it".

There is a popular saying that the village 'Chutia' with its surrounding plain was called "Bauisa" meaning big, in contradistinction with other plains. It has therefore absolutely no connection with the bigger Nagpur in the central province. Mr. Rakhal Das Haldar, sometime the manager of the Maharaja of Chota Nagpur and the First Special Commissioner, appointed under Act 11 of 1869, in the margin of G. C. Depree's Report on the Topographical Survey of the Chota Nagpur Division on page 21 has written with his own hands the words "Nonsense" against the lines, "the word "Chota" is a corruption from Chutia, the name of a village of note lying one mile east of Ranchee", and remarks in the same margin, "Chutia is mouse-like or small as distinguished from 'Bauisa' or big". This view finds support in a private letter, dated the 26th July, 1871, (as yet unpublished) addressed to Miss Mary Carpenter, Bristol, in which he supplied information about Chota Nagpur for publication in the Journal of the National Indian Association, formed with the philanthropic object of creating mutual good-will between England and India and a disinterested endeavour for the intellectual and moral improvement of Indians. Thanks are due to Mr. Sukumar Haldar (a retired member of the Provincial Civil Service), the worthy son of a worthy father, for opening a library, called Rakhal Das Reading Library in May 4, 1939, and for allowing the private records of his father to the public. From the above considerations we may conclude that the prefix 'Chota' to Nagpur has no historical connection with the present

village of Chutia and that the word 'Chota' was beginning to be used by the British in the last decade of the 18th century, or more strictly from the middle of the 19th century. Evidently in the beginning of the 19th century, the British had to deal, almost simultaneously, with two Nagpur chiefs, *viz.*, one the Nagbansi raja and the other the Bhonsle raja, Raghuji Bhonsle II. The Treaty of Nagpur, concluded in May, 1816, which had the effect of immensely increasing the influence of the British, paved the way to its ultimate dissolution, although the final extinction by Lord Dalhousie was delayed till 1853. On the decline of the Maratha power in the early part of the 19th century, the Chota Nagpur states came under British protection, whose chiefs hitherto exercised almost absolute sovereignty in their respective territories. To avoid confusion, or for the sake of convenience a distinctive mark was considered necessary, and hence the Nagpur plateau was named 'Chota' in order to distinguish it from the other Nagpur possessed by the Bhonsle Maratha family.

The epithet 'Burra' was actually used by Lt. Tickell¹ Political Assistant, Singhbhum, in connection with the correction of a mis-statement, when he speaks of Major Wilkinson as the Resident of Burra Nagpur. Again, in the very next paragraph, he says, "Major Wilkinson describes the existence in Burra Nagpur of the remains of a large city in the midst of the jungles on the banks of the Mahanuddee". It may be noted that the term 'Burra' is not being used at the present day in official records and publications.

¹ Supplementary note to the Memoirs on the Hode'sum, Vol. IX, pp. 694, 783, published in J. A. S. B. (1841) p. 30.

This explanation seems historically correct, as the early British administrators knew this tract as simply Nagpur, when no necessity arose for distinction.

There is, however, a Munda legend that seeks to explain the whole name, 'Chota Nagpur'. The legend of Risā Mundā who was made the accredited leader of the whole Munda tribe by Sirmā Singh (the sun-god of Heaven) settled in a place where dangerous venomous Nag (Cobra) serpents lived and so the land was called "Nag-disum", or land of serpents. The legend further has it that King Risā appointed one Sutiā Pāhān as the head of the Mundas and that Sutiā named the forest tract 'Sutiā Nāg Khand' after him. The transformation of 'c' or 'ch' into 's' is common enough. The legend is that Sutiā was appointed Pāhān or head (Pradhan) of the Mundas by Risā Mundā, according to the instructions of Sirmā Singh, the chief god of the Mundas. Sutiā is said to have divided the land into seven garhs, viz., Lohār-garh (Lohardaga), Hāzāri-garh (Hazaribagh), Pālūm-garh (Palamau), Mānu-garh (Manbhum), Singhā-garh (Singhbhum), Keshal-garh and Surgus-garh (Surguja State). It is said that he further sub-divided these seven garhs into 21 parganas, the names of many of which parganas are still in existence. The parganas are: Omendāndā, Doisā, Khukhrā, Sirgujā, Jāshpur, Cangnāpur, Porhāt, Girgā, Bisuā, Lāchrā, Biruā, Sonepur, Belkhadu, Belsing, Tāmār, Sohārdih, Khār-sing, Udaipur, Bonāi, Koreā, and Changbhāngkar. As a token of his high social position, he wore, like the "twice-born" Hindu castes, a "Janeu" or "Yajno-abit" of seven sacred threads. The legend further

states that one day, when Sutiā was asleep under a tree near his house, a huge Nag serpent spread its umbrella-like hood and protected him from the scorching rays of the Sun. This legend seeks to explain that the name 'Chutiā' and not 'Chotā' is a corruption from 'Sutiā', and because the land was infested with large and venomous serpents, it was named Nāg Khand, the land of the Nāgs (cobra serpents). If this legend be accepted then the country should be named 'Chutiā Nāgpur' after the name of Sutiā Pāhān, and not, as at present, Chota Nāgpur. It is difficult to venture the suggestion, at this late stage, to substitute the appellation 'Chutiā' for 'Chota' which is the present accepted name, after the epithet had passed through various stages of sound and spelling transformation. But, except that the account is legendary, this interpretation has perhaps a better claim than the theory of the 'Chutiā' origin of Chota Nāgpur.

We may now proceed to consider the meaning of the name 'Nagpur'. Literarily, it means the 'Pur' or land or country of the Nags. The word 'Pur' is a word of frequent occurrence in the Rigveda,¹ meaning 'rampart', 'fort' or 'stronghold', just in the same way as the word "garh", meaning fort is used by the aboriginals of Chota Nagpur. The adoption of the word 'pur' which is apparently a Sanskrit word to name an aboriginal country may seem strange to some, while all the neighbouring countries inhabited by the people of kindred races are called either 'garhs' or 'bhums'. The aboriginal tongue is now to be met with in the

¹ Rigveda Book I—53, 7, 8, 58, 31, 4, 166. Book III—4, 15, Book IV—27.

western high-lands comprising Birbhum, Manbhum, Singhbhum, the Chota Nagpur territories, and some parts of central India, and is in its various forms known as Sāntālī, Ho Mundāri, Korwā, Kuri etc. The great dialectical differences in the old language had doubtless arisen from the fact that it was only spoken and never written by a primitive people spread over an extensive area.

It is remarkable that among the names of the jungly and hilly frontier districts, we meet with so many endings in "bhum". Thus we have Birbhum, Sainbhum, along the left bank of the Ajai in Birbhum district; Sekharbhum or Shergarth, comprising modern Raniganj and its neighbourhood; Gopibhum along the right bank of the Ajai; Bāmanbhum or Brāhmanbhum, in Northern Midnapur district; Mānbhum, Barābhum, Dhalbhum, Singhbhum, in the Chota Nagpur division; Tunbhum in southern Purulia; Mālbhum, the frontier of Burdwan and Midnapur districts; Bhanjibhum, the central Midnapur. It appears that the Mundari people being extremely deficient in abstract ideas, have freely drawn vocabularies from Hindi and Bengali, and some words have evidently been adopted in recent times, though it is remarkable that some Sanskrit words in their primitive forms are also to be met with in Mundari. (Cf. About 1500 Mundai vocabularies published in J. A. S. B. by Mr. Rakhal Das Haldar, in 1871). Like the prefix 'chota' which, as has been already discussed is of comparatively recent development, the suffix 'pur' to the name of the land of the aborigines clearly shows the influence of Aryan language, and refers to the time when the two ethnic linguistic ele-

ments came into direct collision, and as such it is an Aryan, and not an aboriginal nomenclature.

While the term 'pur' admits of various etymologies and refers to comparatively recent development, when the influence of the Aryan culture had already begun to be felt, an attempt has been made to trace the history of the Nag-worshipping people of the plateau to a very hoary antiquity by referring to the allusion in the Rigveda (Book X. Sl. 189), where a whole sukta is composed by a lady Rsi, Sarpa-Rājñi (serpent queen), who is regarded as a deity presiding over the earth. The satpath Brahman explains it by saying that "the Earth herself is Sarpa-Rājñi". Mr. A. C. Das, in his "Rigvedic India" advanced a queer theory when he said that the Nāgas were originally "an Aryan tribe, who on account of their nomadic habits, and a probable leaning towards the worship of Ahi (serpent) were hated by the Vedic Aryans and were ultimately driven out of Sapta-Sindhu." It has been pointed out that this allusion in the Rigveda finds support in the Mahābhārata where mention is made of nomadic Indo-Aryan tribes, under the general name of "Yayavaras" (literary wanderers). One of the sages of these tribes, named Jaratkāru married the beautiful sister of Vāsuki, the King of the Serpents, the issue of which union was Āstika Muni (sage). This is quite in keeping with the meaning of the hymn addressed to Manasā (the goddess of serpents).

आस्तीकस्य मुनेर्माता भगिनी वासुकेस्तथा ।

जरत्कारुमुनेः पत्नी मनसा देवि नमोऽस्तुते ॥

"I bow down my head to goddess Manasā who is the wife of sage Jaratkārau, sister of Vāsaki and mother of sage Āstika".

Various legends and allusions have been cited in support of the antiquity of the Nagas or the serpent-worshippers. The Shanti-parva of the Mahabharata records that Garuda led the Nāgas or serpents (a nomadic Aryan tribe) out of India into an island and that Garuda himself carried on war with the "devas" (gods); but Lord Vishnu made a compromise by making him his 'bāhana' (bearer). This explains the legend why in the chariot of Lord Vishnu we find the picture of Garuda. Very likely, it has been suggested, Garuda represents like the Nagas, a nomadic Aryan tribe, that afterwards migrated to southern India and flourished in the age of the Rāmāyana under kings of the names of Jatāyu and Sampati. This theory that the serpent-worshipping Nagas, originally an Aryan tribe, in the course of their wanderings at last entered into the central plateau of Chota Nagpur and made themselves rulers over the Mundas and the Oraons, the primitive peoples of the country must seem to modern scholars to be bizarre and absurd, although the tradition, implicitly believed in this country points to the Nag (serpent) origin of the family of the Chota Nagpur Raj.

The Nagas, according to Dr. Banerji-Sastri are a branch of the Asuras, who, according to H. H. Wilson were "the Anti-vaedic people of India" and therefore non-Aryans. Sylvain Levy makes them a pre-Aryan, pre-Dravidian and a maritime people; and on linguistic affinity finds in them the Austro-Asiatic features which are discernible in the Mun-

das of Chota Nagpur. The Nagas, the elite among the Asuras were the "spearhead and backbone of the Asura people in India". Jarāsandhu, the Asura king of Magadh has been supposed to belong to the Nāga group; and the *Maniār Math* and *jarā Sandhaki Baitakh* at Rajgir (Bihar) are advanced as indications. During the post-epic period they occupied Taksasila and killed Pariksit. The Karkotaka Nagas colonised Riksha Hill (Satpura range). The Sisunagas were offshoots of the Nāgas, the epithet "sisu" meaning an infant or minor king of the Nag family. The remnants of the Nāgas, being ousted from Kashmir by the Pisāchas who, according to Grierson belong to outer Indo-Aryan wandered over the whole of northern India upto the extreme north-east and thence to the south. The places through which they sojourned are marked by serpent worship, the traces of which can be found from Kashmir to Rājgir (Bihar). The places of their occupation still bear their names viz., Nagpur, Chota Nagpur etc. They are now completely absorbed in the Dāsa aborigines living in the jungles of Assam, central provinces, Chota Nagpur, and the Vindhya range.

Like the Romulus-Remus origin of the Romans, the Chota Nagpur Raj family has preserved an interesting tradition as to its origin from the snake, which not only takes us back to the Pauranik times, but seeks to account for the name "Nagpur". This traditional account of the origin of the Raj family, which was submitted to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India by Maharaja Drip Nath Sāhi, dated Baisakh Badi, 1st May, 1844, sambat, corresponding with

1798 A.D. (1787?) is important as it throws some light on the beliefs, manners and religious customs of the people to whom it relates. The story refers to the time of Raja Janmejaya, who in order to destroy the entire race of serpents celebrated a "sarpa-yajna". One of the serpents, named Pundarika, the tradition states managed to make good his escape, and assuming human form travelled to Benares. It must be borne in mind, though to modern minds it seems to be absurd, that "the Nāgas could at will, and often did adopt human form, and though terrible, if angered were kindly and mild by nature...These Nagas are represented as men or women either with Cobra's hoods rising from behind their heads or with serpentine forms from the waist downwards."¹

"At any rate, Pundarika disguised himself as a Brahman boy and stayed with a pandit who used to teach some boys the shastras. As he was an accomplished boy and more intelligent than the other boys in the school, the master was very much pleased with him and got him married to the daughter of a Brahman of Benares, named Pārbati. Soon after Pundarika's wife became pregnant, and sitting beside Pundarika, who was sleeping with his mouth open, she saw that he had a double tongue. When he awoke, Pārbati asked him to explain the mystery about his double tongue. Pundarika put off answering the question to some future day, when she would accompany him to his native country. She agreed to go, and they accordingly left Benares, and a few days after, arrived

¹ Rhys Davids—Buddhist India, pp. 223-24.

at Suthiāmbā, a village close to Pithauriā, about 10 miles north of Ranchi. It is believed even now to be the original home of the Nagbansi Rajas of Chota Nagpur, where the "Ind" festival is held every year in the month of Bhado (August). They sat down under the cooling shadow of a 'Pandari' tree in the village of Rarhā, in the Sutiāmbā pargana, Parbati being then seven months gone with child. There the wife asked her husband about his tongue, as they had arrived on the border of this country." There is another version of the story which says that Pundarika in order to divert her attention took her on a pilgrimage to the holy temple of Jagannath at Puri and that on their way back to Benares through Chota Nagpur this event took place. When the womanly inquisitiveness of the wife could not any longer be suppressed, Brahman Pundarika tied a piece of cloth over her eyes and proceeded to change himself into a huge snake. He then said, "Open your eyes and look at me. I am a snake, and here are my tongues". The wife was very much astonished and naturally frightened and at that same moment she gave birth to a boy and died of child-birth, or as some say immolated herself on a funeral pyre as befitting a *sati*. The snake then thought to himself; "If I leave the child here I will doubtless be the murderer of my own son and will feel the consequence of the child's death". So thinking the snake made a shelter with his hood to protect the boy. At that time some of the poor people of Sutiāmbā went into the jungle to cut wood just where the child was lying. Seeing the people coming the snake disappeared. The men saw the child crying

alone, and some of them saw the snake also. They concluded therefore that the child must be a divine one. They gladly took the child home with them to bring him up with the hope that he would bring luck to them in future. Another version of the tradition is that just at the time when Pundarika Nag was protecting the boy, a Sakaldipi Brahman, carrying an idol of "Surja" (Sun-god) noticed a huge cobra protecting a baby from the sun with its hood expanded over the baby's head. It is also said that the snake revealed himself to the Brahmans as Pundarika Nag and narrated his strange transformation. The snake prophesied that the child was destined to be the rājā of the country and that this Sākaldipi Brahman would be his priest. The child, said Pundarika, was to be named Phani Mukuta Rai and the country Nagpur. It is significant that the Sākaldipi Brahmans are still the priests of the rajas of Chota Nagpur.

Another story, quoted in the Webster's Report¹ says that the men carried the boy to a Kanojea Brahman, named Dubāi, who was living at that time at Konke, close to the village, where the wood-cutters lived. Dubāi having been impressed with the story decided to bring him up and gave him the name of Phani Mukut Rai. The second version of it, as stated by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy in his "Mundas and their country", says that the child was brought up by one Madra Munda, a *mānki* (chief of a village), who lived in a village close by, and that when the boy grew of age he was unanimously elected the leader of all the

¹ Webster Report, dated 8-4-1875, Appendix A. pp.

mānkies or Parhā-chiefs. Phani Mukut Rai thus according to the legend, became raja and, in no time took possession of Ramgarh, Gola Palani, Ghanguriah (modern Hazaribagh district), and the territories from Tāmār to Bānthā Hāzām (eastern portion of Ranchi district), and from Tori to Mankeri and Burweh (northern border of Ranchi district, roughly the present Palamau district).

From the historical standpoint the above legend, though it may appear to be strange and even fabulous and does not bring with it any demonstrative certainty has been stated with the hope that its comparison with other known facts may lead to the solution of the question of time to which this event belonged. The traditional birth and installation of Maharaja Phani Mukut Rāi synchronises with the time of the appellation of the tract as Nagpur, which undoubtedly came into use after the name of the original king, who was a Nagbansi, "a totemistic sub-tribe of pseudo-Rajputs."

We have at least two synchronisms. The appearance and the first appointment of the sākaldwipi Brāhmanas as the priest of the Chota Nagpur Raj family and secondly, the probable date of the establishment of the Nagbansi rajas corresponds with the overthrow of the Chero power in Sahabad in Bihar. According to Father F. A. Grignard (*Anthropos*, Vol. IV), the Chero princes were expelled by the Savaras, in A.D. 500. The learned father further thinks that the Nagbansi Rajas were a branch of the Chero family, and if his theory is to be accepted, it follows that the Nagbansi family in Chota Nagpur must have migrated to this country after the Cheros have established themselves

at Palamau. The Kursi-nāmā (genealogical table) gives the date as far back as the first century of the Christian era, which appears to be highly improbable.

The genealogical tree of the family assigns an extraordinarily long period of reign to some of the kings. Thus, Maharaja Phani Mukut Rai had a reign of 94 years; the second king 55 years; the third 41; the fourth 53; the tenth 46; the seventeenth 57; the twenty-second 58; the 28th 51; the thirtyninth 50; the fiftieth 60; and although 8 kings have short reigns (*e.g.*, 43rd king 5 years, 44th 11 years, 52nd 9 years, 53rd 7 years, 54th 5 years, 55th 3 years and 56th 14 years) we get an average of 29 years for the reign of each raja. This will take us back to the first century A.D. The writer of the District Gazetteer, Ranchi, by allowing an average of 25 years for each of the kings has fixed the end of the fourth century A.D. to be the beginning of the Nagbansi family in Chota Nagpur. But this again would not stand the historical test because the contemporary historical evidence, namely the Allahabad Posthumous Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta, translated by Fleet, (line 23) refers to this country by the name of the people "Murundas" and not by the name of the Nagas. Although this inscription describes Samudra Gupta as deceased and is not dated it belonged to the time of his successors Chandra Gupta II, popularly known as Vikramāditya, or the next king Kumar Gupta I, who together reigned from about 375 A.D. to 453 A.D. Had the Nagbansi chiefs been able to establish their suzerainty over the Mundas and the Oraons by this time the Nagbansis of Chota Nagpur must have been mention-

ed in the said inscription, knowing, as we do that Samudra Gupta in the course of his southern campaigns passed through the Chota Nagpur plateau.

We are fortunate enough to possess the account of Fahien, a contemporary of Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya, who came upto Bodh Gaya but feared to proceed further south and remarked that the people should not travel incautiously into those parts where lions, tigers, and wolves roam freely. He called the mountain to the south Kukkut-lādā, which is identified by Cunningham with Kurkihar, about 16 miles to the north-east of Gaya.

The chronology of Chota Nagpur has hitherto been so much embarrassed by the absence of the necessary data and by the preconceived opinions entertained respecting it, that it is difficult to convince the too much proof-minded readers that in the absence of any direct reference to Chota Nagpur it may be surmised that no talent and vigour of an individual chief could establish a name to be known to the neighbouring countries. The same observations may be made with regard to the next Chinese pilgrim, Hien-Tsang, who was in India from 629-645 A.D. during the reign of Harshavardhan. The traveller refers this tract as Kie-la-na-su-fa-la-na or Kirana-Subaran, lying at a distance of 700 li or 117 miles to the north-west of Tamralipti (modern Tam-luk). The distance and the direction indicated by the famous Chinese pilgrim refers to the land as covered by forest. The expression "Kiran-Subarna" most likely meant the land which is watered by the Subarna-rekha river. None of the authentic historical records

from the chinese pilgrims and travellers has any thing to say about king and kingship in Chota Nagpur, although it is true that they came to India as the holy land of the Buddha, and looked at India with their Buddhistic spectacles.

The average of 25 years for each king, we can very well understand, was a liberal computation and we may perhaps be justified in reducing the average and consequently the total period of Nagbansi rule still further. Some of the Mughal kings, we know, had long reigns, namely Emperor Akbar 50 years, but a much larger number of kings had very short reigns. From Babar to Bahadur Shah II, there were as many as 28 kings, who ruled for 311 years (1526-1837), giving an average of 11 years for each king. During the Hindu period, in India, the whole duration of the Maurya dynasty, according to the Purans was 137 years, and according to the same authority there were ten kings from Chandragupta down to Brihadhratha, thus giving an average of 14 years.¹ The ten Sunga kings who ruled for 112 years had an average of 11 years; the thirty Andhra kings, the Purans say ruled in the total for 456 years and thus the average rule was 15 years. Even in the history of England under the Stewarts six sovereigns reigned for 111 years (1603-1714); and the average is 18 years. If the ancient people, it may be argued had a longer longevity, we may mention the famous 18th dynasty of Egypt, some of whose illustrious kings, namely Amenhotep I, Thutmoses II, are known to have long reigns, where

¹ Puran Prabesh (in Bengali) by Mr. Girindra Sekhar Basu, page 128.

the average rule for each king did not exceed 23 years, (1580 B.C. to 1350 B.C.) ruled by 10 kings from Ahmos to Amenhotep IV or Ikhnaton. In the case of the democratic people like the Mundas and the Oraons of Chota Nagpur the conception of a king ruling over them is extremely exotic, and they must have prevented it as long as they possibly could.

Disruptive tendencies among the kings, on the other hand must have been at work, and therefore the average rule for each of the kings may be reasonably considerably reduced. Now, if we take the average of these averages ($11+14+11+15+18+23=92\div6$) we get 15 years, which is the general average length for an Indian king, assumed by Mr. Pargiter (Cf.—J. R. A. S. 1910, *Ancient Indian Genealogies and Chronologies*). We may thus take an average of 15 years of rule for each of the kings of Chota Nagpur. Thus, if the present Maharaja Udai Pratap Nath Shah Deo, be the 60th, or as Col. Dalton says the 61st king from the legendary king, Phani Mutuk Rai, the Nagbansi kings must have ruled in the total for 900 or 915 years. On this computation we may safely put the advent of the Nagbansi family to Chota Nagpur at the year 1040 or 1025 A.D., or roughly at the beginning of the eleventh century of the Christian era, when from the Nagbansi family the name of the country was beginning to be known as Nagpur.

Mr. J. Reid, in his *Survey and Settlement Operations, 1902-1910* (Chapter II, pp. 13-14) fixes the tenth century of the Christian era, when the ancestors of the present Maharaja of Chota Nagpur appear to have established themselves as chiefs of the primitive Munda

tribes who then inhabited the country. This view seems to be approximately correct.

We are fortunate in possessing another Synchronism furnished by the Purans. The Vishnu Puran (Canto IV, Chapter XXIV, verses 12-30) tells us that 13 Munda kings ruled after the reign of 13 Tukhar kings. The same authority tells us that 65 kings ruled the period that intervened between the fall of the Andhras and the rise of the Munda kings. Taking the usual average of 15 years, we obtain 975 years for the five dynasties. If the Andhra rule terminated about the year 225 A.D., we ascertain that the rule of the Munda kings began in about 1200 A.D.

The installation of the first Nagbansi chief, Phani Mutuk Rai to the leadership of all the aborigines is said, according to the legend, to be contemporaneous with the first appearance and the appointment of the Sākaldwipi Brahmans as priests of the newly elevated royal family. As to these Brahmans, Mr. H. H. Risley, in his Tribes and Castes of Bengal, (Vol. I, p. 160) says: "They (Sākaldwipi or Sakaldwipi Brahmans) are supposed to have been brought by Rama from Ceylon for the purpose of practising medicine". According to another opinion, they were the indigenous Brahmans of the ancient country of Magadh. Some say that it is for this reason that they were formerly called Māgas. The name, however, has dropped into disuse, and the Sakaldwipi themselves prefer the legend associating them with Rama's famous invasion to that connecting them with a part of the country proverbial among Hindus for its ceremonial impurity. At the present day the bulk of this sub-

caste are employed as priests in Rajput families; some are land-holders, some practise Hindu medicine. The Sakaldwipi Brahmans, who have been the priests of the Nagbansi family cannot account for their presence in this land. Some say they came from the Punjab; but when and how, they fail to answer. The 'Brahmattar' or rent-free land, which they hold does not date beyond the 16th or the 17th century A.D.

We have yet another factor to determine the date of the advent of the Nagbansi family. The Rev. Father Grignard, who is of opinion that the Nagbansi family is a branch of the Cheros of Palamau associates the overthrow of the Chero power in Sahabad and Bihar with the migration to Chota Nagpur of the Nagbansi Rajputs. The learned Rev. Father gives 500 A.D. as the date when the Cheros were expelled from Sahabad, and after a period of wandering ousted the Rakshal Rajputs and established their suzerainty in Palamau. It would appear that the date fixed by the Rev. Father is more or less arbitrary. We have no contemporary authentic evidence of an historical kind, except the traditions, which, again reveal inconsistencies, to show when and how were the Cheros overthrown from Shahabad. The Muhammadan historians, however, supplement in substance the Chero legend. The three invasions against Pratap (Chero king of Palamau) are dated A.D. 1641, 1643, and 1660 respectively. The Pādishānāma says: "Pratap whose family generation after generation ruled over the country, an infidel like all his ancestors had neglected to send the customary 'peshkash' to Abdulla Khan

Bahadur Firuz-Jang, the former Governor of Bihar." These dates, which have been quoted by the District Gazetteers are almost certainly too early by about 30 years, as Shaista Khan's rule in Bengal did not begin till the death of Mir Jumla in 1663 A.D.; and as to the third invasion, ordered by Emperor Aurangzeb, in 1660 A.D. it would equally appear to be incorrect, because Daud Khan, Mankhi Khan and Lashkar Khan were apparently subordinate to Shaista Khan. The true date of these transactions is most probably about 1686 A.D. The *Pādhisānāmā* and the *Ālamgirnāmā*, although they are unquestionably the authentic sources for the Mughal invasion of Palamau are unsatisfactory with respect to the dates. There is, however, no doubt that the Cheros migrated to Palamau from Shahabad, where they were once the ruling race, and that this claim is confirmed, not only by popular traditions, implicitly believed in, but by epigraphic and archaeological finds in the south of Palamau. Col. Dalton, also, in his *Ethnology of Bengal* endorses this view when he quotes: "The Cheros invaded Palamau from Rohtas; and with the aid of the Rajput chiefs, the ancestors of the Thākuraīs of Rankā and Chainpur drove out and supplanted a Rajput Raja of the Raksel family". The Settlement Reports of Messrs L. R. Forbes (1870), D. H. E. Sunder (1898) and T. W. Bridge (1920), from their first hand examination of local records inform us that the Raksel Rajputs retained possession of Palamau until the year 1613 A.D.; and the same records tell us that there were four kings before Pratap Rai. The date would seem to be most approximately correct, if we assign an

usual average of 15 years for each of the four kings, who had gone before Pratap. Thus, if the Nagbansis of Chota Nagpur belonged to the same race as the Cheros—which seems highly probable, they must have migrated to Chota Nagpur at least two centuries later, because when Emperor Akbar sent his general in 993 A.H. (A.D. 1585), the Nagbansi king Madho Singh was the 45th in descent from Phani Mutuk Rai. All these circumstances will go to disprove the hoary antiquity of the Nagbansi race in Chota Nagpur but, of course, not of the aborigines, and would point to the later eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century of the Christian era when the country was being known as Nagpur. It would also appear that the Muhammadan writers, who knew the country as Kukrā, very occasionally called the country by the name of Nagpur. The earlier names by which this plateau was known, as has already been discussed were:—Murandā (Vaya Puran), Mundā (Vishnu Puran), Mandala (Ptolemy), Monedes (Pliny), Pulinda-desh or Poulinda and Dasārna (early and Mediæval Sanskrit literature), Jharkhand (later Sanskrit literature and Muhammadan historians), Kokra, and Coira Orissa and very often Nagpur also, by the Muhammadan historians. But it was not till the British occupation of the country that the land of the Mundas and Orāons was called Chota Nagpur.

The name Chota Nagpur which was given to the division very often creates confusion. The district, under a Deputy Commissioner, was since 1834, called Lohārdāgā. The Post Office was styled the "Chota Nagpur Post Office;" the Government School

was named "Chota Nagpur Govt. School"; the treasury was named "Ranchiee", and the office of the Agent to the Governor General was named "Kishanpur",¹ which is now the site occupied by the Ranchi Jail, the Executive Engineer's office and the Dak Bungalow. Such names form an unsolvable puzzle to people at a distance. Other names were soon found to be inapplicable and "Chota Nagpur" or "Ranchi" was substituted and applied to the district offices in general.

The name Ranchi, it may be noted, is derived from the Mundari word "Aranchi", meaning a short stick used in driving cattle. Similarly, the origin of the name of 'Dorandā' which was the military station is traced to two Mundari words "durāng" (song) and "dā" (water), and refers to a story how the Mundas drank the water (dā) of a streamlet that flows by it and sang songs (durāng), and danced to their hearts' content.

The Name "Palamau"

Similarly, it may be mentioned in passing that the name 'Palamau', a district in the Chota Nagpur Division, created in 1892, is derived, according to Rev. F. J. Hahn from 'pall' meaning tooth, and 'amm' meaning water, and 'u' a kind of genitive, or possessive case, meaning village, country, fortress etc. Mr. Sunder suggests that the name is a combination of 'pālā', meaning frost and 'mu' the patois root for dead, and supports it with the fact that during the winter

¹ Probably after the name of Mr. Wilkinson, popularly known as Ilkishan Saheb. The writer is indebted to the Maharaja for this suggestion.

months the district is liable to severe frosts. The Muhammadan historians, who spelt the word as 'pālāoon' meant a place of refuge, as it has given asylum to many chiefs, owing to the inaccessible nature of this country. It may be suggested that the name is derived from "Pālā", meaning protectress, and "मौ", meaning mother. In this sense, some places are named. For example, there is a village, near Prayag called 'Sitāmou', meaning 'Mother Sitā'. In the present ruined fort of Palamau there is a temple dedicated to a female deity, probably the goddess of the fort. It may be noted that it is in the same sense that the name, Patna has often been believed to be given after the name of "Pātandebi", in the Patna City, the protectress of the city.

Hazaribagh

The name Hazaribagh, another district in the division is called after the name of a village 'Hazari', situated on the Grand Trunk Road, where the remains of a fine mango grove are still to be found. The local people drop 'h' of Hazaribagh at the end and thus make 'bāg' mean 'grove'. Strictly historically, the name Hazaribagh owes its origin to the names of two villages, 'Ocund' and 'Hāzāri', so that in Rennell's map published in 1779 we read 'Ocundhāzāri', and not Hazaribagh.

Singbhum

As to the origin of the name of the district of Singbhum, an attempt has been made to establish the theory that it (the name) is a corruption of 'Sing-

bongā', the sun-god, 'Sing' means in Mundāri—Sun and 'bongā'—a god or demon. But this theory on mere philological ground seems to be a little far-fetched one, as the name Singhbhum came into use historically after the name of the Singh Rajas of Porāhāt (*i.e.*, the Porahat Estates and the states of Sarāikelā and Kharsawān), who claim to be Rathor Rajputs. It is in history that their ancestors were in the bodyguard of Akbar's general and that they fought against the Hos for the Bhuiyas, and ultimately conquered the country for themselves, in the sixteenth century of the Christian era, from which time the district seems to have by the name of Singhbhum been called.

Manbhum

Authorities are divided in their opinions as to the origin of the name "Manbhum", the easternly district of Chota Nagpur, on the boarders of Bengal. Col. Dalton, Mr. W. B. Oldham, and Sir H. H. Risley seem to have been prejudiced by their pre-conceived idea that the country belonged to the Munda-Kols and ascribe the origin of the name to the Dravidian tribal names, such as Mālli, referred to by Pliny, which has been identified with the Sauri, supposed to be akin to the Rajmahal Pāhāriās, the Oraons and the Sabars. Dr. Hunter prefers to mean the 'bhum' or land of the 'Malla' or 'wrestlers', the 'land of wrestlers'. In this sense, the term Mallabhum was applied to mean a more extensive tract of country, comprising parts of the modern districts of Midnapore, Burdwan, some part of the Santal Parganas, the whole of modern

Manbhum, including a part of Chota Nagpur.¹ The writer of the Bankura District Gazetteer, on page 21 (Edn. 1908) says:—"The term Mallabhum is said to mean the land of the wrestlers, and is explained by the legend that the first Raja received the title of Adi Malla from his skill in wrestling. The name Malla is a Sanskrit one, but it appears more probable that the title is really an aboriginal one".

And Mr. W. B. Oldham in his "Some Historical and Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwan Division", Calcutta, 1894, says: "The name Malla is a title of the Rajas of Bishunpur (now a sub-division of Bankura, Bengal), the acknowledged kings of the Bāgdis, and of the present Mālls who are their neighbours around whom are centered the most concrete legends which refer to the connection between these two tribes. The Hindu geneologists of the house of Bishunpur assert that this hereditary title "Malla" means the wrestler, just as Manbhum should be Mallabhum, the land of the wrestlers".

The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇ (canto LVII), while describing the countries and races in Eastern India mentions the "Māna-Vartikās", although the Vayu Purāṇ reads "Māla Vartinah" (canto XIX, 357). But the reading in the Vishṇu Parva of the Mahābhārata is the "Māna-Varjakās", who appear from the context to be the people meant. The name seems intended to carry a meaning, either 'people who live decorously', according to the text or the 'people who are devoid of decorum'. Mr. Pargiter thinks that "Māna-Varti-

¹ Reports. Arch. Survey of India, Vol. VIII, pp. 180, 199 205.

kas" (Māna-Vortin) may mean Manbhum, a district in Chota Nagpur Division and that the "Mālavānakas", mentioned in the Vishnu Puran list belongs to a different group altogether. Thus the rejection by Mr. H. Coupland, the writer of the Manbhum District Gazetteer of the obvious derivation of the name Manbhum, meaning 'land of honour' ("Mān"—honour and "bhūm"—land), on the ground of the Bengali connection of the district does not seem to be equitable and free from deletions. On the other hand, the linguistic affinity between the people of Manbhum and those in Bengal is so close that Mr. C. F. Montresor,¹ Commissioner of Burdwan division, in a letter, dated the 8th July, 1863, wrote to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Fort William, proposing the transfer of the four thanas of Chātnā, Gourāngdihi, Raghunāthpur and Niāmotpur to the district of Bankura, in Bengal. There was similarly no difficulty, when in 1875, the thanas of Rāipur, Supur, Simlāpāl and Chātnā were transferred to Bankura, a district in Bengal.

¹ The correspondence is in an excellent condition of preservation in the record room of the Commissioner, Chota Nagpur Division.

TIBETAN TITBITS

By S. C. SARKAR

I. Tilopā and Nāropā

In June 1936 I obtained from Lha. sa. (through a Tibetan friend) a block-print copy of an old work, known to literate Tibetans generally as “Te. lo. Naah. ro-ahi. nmam. thar.” But according to its introductory passages, it contains not only “the ‘caritra’ of Telo and Nāro, the two ‘siddheśvaras’ of Āryāvartta”, but also of the Vajradhara Bhaṭṭāraka¹ Bhāṣyakāra² Kalyāṇa-kara³ Mar. pa. the Translator⁴—all three “briefly collected”; and to this is sub-joined, “with ornaments”, the ‘caritra’ of the 4th in this spiritual succession, *i.e.*, “of Devarāja Siddha-paṇḍita, hailing from Dvag,”⁵ whose reputation had “spread from Jambū-dvīpa to the corners of Gru,”⁶—referring to Mi.la.ras.pa., a favourite saint of the Tibetans, as is shown by the Text itself. The entire compilation is of 82 folios, and deals with the three Saints Tilopā,

¹ Or ‘Bhikṣu-rāja’; or ‘Parivrājaka’.

² Or ‘Ācārya’; or ‘Bśad’-vāsin’ hailing from the district of Bśad.

³ Or ‘Śubhaṅkara’.

⁴ Or Interpreter; ‘Blo. rca. wa.’ lit.=‘Knowledge root possessing’=Sans. ‘Vyutpanna’; a Tibetan scholar knowing Pālī and Sanskrit literature was regarded as having gone to the root of sacred lore.

⁵ S. E. of Lha. sa.

⁶ N. E. of Lha. sa.

Nāropā and Marpā briefly in 17 pages, and with the Saint Mi.la.ras.pa. in detail in 143 pages.

From the rather long-drawn colophon (f. 81-82, pp. 161-3), it appears that "the first three 'rnam.thars' (of Telo, Nāro and Marpā) were compiled by Atīśa himself, in an abridged as well as in a complete form"; that then these "were rearranged in their own manner by 'Bran.kha.rin.po.che'.¹ and by others"; that then "the Lady Khageśvari² recompiled these very famous biographies correctly from genuine original sources"³; and that thereafter "by 'Blo.kho.na'.⁴ these have been reduced to writing, with the reverential attachment thereto of the original precepts of the precious Sūtra-collections"⁵.

In the next passage, one "Śrīmān Gambhira (-pāda) in this border of the Snowy Mountains" records his reverence for "Bhadra Padma-Candra,⁶ the best of the King's sons, who formerly translated⁷ all

¹ Lit. 'Ratna-ceṭa' or 'Ratna-dāsa' and the same as 'Spyan. sñar. rin. po. che.', the 3rd of the 3 scholar brothers who succeeded 'Aḥbrom. stan. pa'. the disciple of Atīśa in Tibet.

² Or Khagendrāṇī,—'Rje. mkhaah. spyod. dvañ. mo'. the famous abbess of the Yamdok Samding monastery founded in 1177 A.D.

³ Tibetan scholars often emphasise the basing of their writings on 'original sources and documents'.

⁴ I.e., 'Prajña-sattva', or 'Guṇa-mati' or 'Sumati' in Sanskrit; it might also be translated "from the mind of my own self", in which case the reference is to the last compiler, Śrīmān Gambhira, mentioned later on.

⁵ Or Sūtrāntas.

⁶ Probably a prince of the Candra Dynasty of Bengal (well known to Tibetan historians). The name might also be rendered as Padma Candra Bhadra, or Śrīmān Puspa Candra, etc.

⁷ I.e., from Sanskrit and Pali into Tibetan. Apparently the Candra dynasty patronised such Tibetan translations.

the Sāstras for Kumāra Prakāśa-Candra,"¹—as also his "reverence for the Mahārāja Vimāla-Candra,"¹—who, he believes, has been miraculously continuing to teach the Doctrine through many ages by virtue of his spiritual powers, and whose teaching he has followed in the present compilation. The compilation is next said to be well accomplished through the grace of Eka-Nātha;² the compiler styles himself a Messenger of the Tathāgata, and ends by prefixing his 'Om Svasti' with an appreciation of the efficacy of the Good Path (Yāna) of Yogīśvara Dombi-pā.³

An apparently subsequent rambling addendum to the above passages says, among other things, that "the reputation of the Śāstra-kṛt's Nāropā, Marpā, Milaraspā⁴ and Kumāra Prakāśa-Candra has spread over the three regions", and that "though the life

¹ The name 'Kumāra Prakāśa Candra' might also be read as Candra-Prākāśa or Candra-Prabha Kumāra. The sentence 'who formerly.....Candra' might also be rendered, 'who formerly (*i.e.*, as a lay man) was called Kumāra Prakāśa-Candra,—but as ordained monk was known as Bhadra Padma-Candra.'

The Tibetan histories give the ff. genealogy of K. Vimāla Candra of Bāṅglā:—Simha Candra (contemp. of Simha Bharṣi Licchavi, K. of Magadha): Bāla Candra (a conqueror and expander of kingdom): Vimāla Candra (who married sister of Bhartṛhari, K. of Malwa): Gopi Candra (whose capital was Chaṭṭagrāma): Lalita Candra (the last Candra king); the last 3 Candra kings being Buddhist Saints themselves.

² That is noteworthy from the point of view of the history of the Nātha sect and the time of the present compilation by Gambhīra-pāda.

³ A fisherman of Pāṭaliputra who became a Buddhist Yogācārya; prob. the same as Tombipā, disciple of Nāropā and teacher of Atiśa in Tantra.

⁴ The names may also be rendered as "Nāropā, Dīpaṅkara-Atiśa and Kumāra Prakāśa Candra", taking 'Mar. me.' for 'Mar. Mi.' (*i.e.*, Marpā and Milaraspā).

histories of all 'siddha-tāntrikas' are of equal benefit, those of the Noble Three¹ are more pleasing, as the scene of their 'lilā' was in the Snowy Valleys of Tibet".

Finally, the producer of the block-print says in the last section of the Colophon that "this fresh print of the account of the 'guru-śiṣya' succession in the 'Bkaah.brgyud' school² was prepared, under the direct supervision of Dharma-Simṇa, by the Bhaṇ-dāgārika³ Āyusmān Śrī-dhara, in the year named Nāga,⁴ Hastā⁵ (nakṣatra), Kanyā⁶ (rāśi)."

The first 9 folios of this work are concerned mainly with the 'guru-śiṣya' relationship between Tilopā and Nāropā, and between Nāropā and Marpā. My transliteration and translation⁷ of this portion, together with those of the Introduction to it and of the Concluding Passages (pp. 161-3) are given below.

¹ The triad Nāropā, Dīpaṅkara and Prakāśa Candra, would be more suitable, as if the triad Tilopā, Nāropā and Marpā, or the triad Nāropā, Marpā and Milaraspā, is taken, one or two of them would be Tibetans, not Indians whose 'lilā' was seen across the Himālayas.

² Nāropā's or Nāro-Panchen's Tāntrik School.

³ The sentence 'by the Bhaṇḍāgārika etc.,' may also be rendered as 'by the retired Treasurer of Bhotan and his Steward, both of long life and prosperous fortune'.

⁴ The 'Dragon-Year'; or it may be trans. 'Meṣa' year; the number of the cycle is not given.

⁵ 'Phyag'.

⁶ 'Sur'.

⁷ Additional information included in footnotes are mostly taken from 'Dpag. bsam. ljon. bṣaṇ' and S. C. Das' works.

*Te. lo. Nba. ro-ahi. rnam. thar.*¹

Telo & Nāro's caritra.

INTRODUCTION

Ahphags. yul. grup. paahi. dvañ. phyug. dpal.
Āryāvarta's siddheśvara Śrī

Te. lo. Naah. ro. gñis. dañ. | Dgyes. mjad.²-Mar.

Telo Nāro (these) two and | Kalyāṇakara Marpā

pa. lo. cah Rje. bcun.³ bshad. pa⁴ rdo. rje. bcas⁵.
(the) Translator | bhaṭṭāraka bhāṣyakāra vajra-dhara's

kyi. rnam. thar. mdor. bsdus. dañ | Mkhas.

Caritra briefly collected and | (the) siddha-

¹lit. 'complete emancipation'=pari-nirvāṇa; ordinarily used in the sense of career, anecdotes or biography; Sans. 'Caritra' expresses the idea best in such contexts. Saṃskṛta expressions are sometimes preferred in this translation as being more suitable than roundabout English paraphrases; in fact it seems from the language that this 'caritra' was originally composed in Saṃskṛta and subsequently translated literally in classical Tibetan.

²Or 'Subhaṅkara'. Acc. to 'Dpag. bsam.' one Kalyāṇakara or Subhaṅkara was a Buddhist scholar in East Magadha contemporary with kings Haricandra, Akṣacandra and Jayacandra of Prācī-Bāṅgālā. But as they appear to have belonged to the second cent. B.C. or even earlier, it must have been a different Kalyāṇakara,—rather a common appellation. It is possible that the Tibetan Sanskritist Marpa was also known as Subhaṅkara or Kalyāṇakara while studying in Magadha or Bāṅgālā.

³Can also be translated as 'bhikṣu-rāja' or 'pari-vrājaka', itinerant monk.

⁴I take 'bshad. pa' to be a mistake for 'bśad. pa'='bhāṣya-kāra', expounder, commentator. It is possible, however, to retain the reading as 'Bshad. pa'='hailing from Bshad, a place in Tsang (S. Tibet), where Tashi Lama lives. Cf. 'Dvag. po' later on in the text.

⁵I.e., one who has mastered the Vajra-yāna theory and practice.

grub. Dvags. po.¹ lha. rjeahi.² rnam. thar. sñan.
 -paṇḍita from Dvag (the) deva-rāja's caritra (whereof
 paahi. ba. dan. Ahjam. gliñ. mthaah. Gru.³ khyab.
 the) fame's flag Jambu-dvīpa (to) corners of Gru has
 paahi. rgyan. bcas.⁴ bshugs.⁵ ||
 spread ornament together with are set forth. ||

¹ S. E. of Dbus (Ü) or Lha. sa. and of Kongpo. Dvag is apparently the same as or near to Bshad.

² The title of 'deva-rāja' would belong to any 'lama' of first rank. A chief disciple of Rje.bla.ma.Tsoñ.kha.pa the Tibetan reformer was called Mkhas.grub.rje. (b. 1077, d. 1152). But he is apparently different from this Mkhas.grub.Dvag.po. lha.rje., who is from the context no other than Milaraspa.

³ A district of Tibet, E. and N. of Dbus or Lha.sa.. The phrase may be taken as 'mthaah.gru'=extensively.

⁴ *i.e.*, commentaries and rambling amplifications

⁵ or 'recorded herein'.

Tilo. Naabroahi. Rnam. thar.

Tilo. (ཅ) Nāro's caritra.

Colophon: Leaf 81 (gya. gcig.):—

Ahdi. dag. ni. Rje.¹ ſhid. kyis. gsun̄s. paahi.

This-all-verily Atiśa-himself-by spoken

rnam. thar. rgyas. bsdus.² gsum³. dañ. | ſier. gnas.

biographies long (and) short three (are) | near-to placed

chos. bshi.⁴ dañ. | Bran. kha. rin. po. che⁵. la.

religion(-books)-four verily | Ratna-dāsa-

sogs. pa. rnam̄s. kyis. phyogs. gcig. tu⁶. sgrigs. pa.

-and-others-by way-one-in arranged

¹ Short for 'Jo.wo.rje.' the usual way of designating Atiśa.

² The phrase 'long and short' in Tib. idiom has the sense of 'completely collected' or 'detailed'.

³ The number 3 shows that while the present work contains 4 rnam.thars, of Tilo, Nāro, Marpā and Milaraspā, the original one compiled by Atiśa dealt with only the first three.

⁴ That is, this work by Atiśa was regarded as equal to the 4 great religious books, *i.e.*, the 4 Vedas; the phrase 'chos.bshi'. may also be rendered 'the 4th religious book', in which case the sentence would mean that Atiśa's work was placed near to the 3 dharma-granthas of the Buddhists, and could almost be said to be the 4th Buddhist Scripture.—Cf. the title "Choṭa Kitāb" claimed for a Bāṅglā Muslim religious dialogue of medieval period (in my possession), "the Lesser Scripture" as compared with the 4 Major Scriptures of the Muslims.

⁵ 'Bran.kha.'='Bran.' 'Kha.' is only a common particle here, or a dim.=Sans. 'ka'. The name is either Ratna-dāsa (ka) or Ratna-ceṭa (ka). One legendary Tibetan opponent to Atiśa's mission work was called 'Bran. ka.', but he can hardly be intended here.

⁶ That is, the matter of these 'caritras' was arranged by Ratnadāsa and others in a special manner, different from Atiśa's arrangement.

dañ. | Ahdul. ahjin. gyis.¹ sin.² bris. su. mjad.
(was) | Vinaya-dhara-by remembered (and) writing-to

-pa. rnam. dañ. | Rje³. Mkhaah. spyod. dvañ. mos.⁴
reduced-etc. also | Āryā-Khageśvarī-by

mjad. paahi. rnam. thar. chen. mor. grags. pa.
produced biography greatly famous etc.

rnam. guñ.⁵ sgrigs. te. | Mdo. sde.⁶ rin. po. cheahi.
in the interval (was) arranged. | Sūtrānta-precious-of

luñ. khuñ. dañ. sbyar. nas. mos. paahi. Blo. kho. nas.⁷

precepts-original-with attached reverently Prajñā-him-
self-from (by)

¹ Vinayadhara was a Bla.ma. of the Bkaah.gdam.pa. (Kadam-pā) sect. Alternatively we may render this as 'by vinaya-dharas' or memorisers and reciters of 'vinaya', within whose scope these monkish 'caritras' would also fall; cf. 'vinaya-bhāṇa's and other classes of 'bhāṇas' (dhara's) referred to in Bharhut inscriptions.

² It is to be noted that memorising and manuscript functioned side by side in Tibetan monasteries.

³ 'Rje.' here is short for 'Rje.-mo'. or '°-ma.' or '°-bcun. ma.' = 'svāminī', 'īśvarī', 'lady', 'āryā' or 'devī', titles applied to learned women who entered the Order of 'dge.sloñ.ma'. (bhikṣuṇī).

⁴ The xylograph has 'dvañ.pos', obviously a misprint of 'p' for 'm'.

⁵ 'guñ'. = in middle, or in parts; or it may be a misprint for 'khuñs' = correctly, genuinely, or acc. to originals.

⁶ lit. 'Sūtra-collection', '°-varga' or '°-śarīra'. The verb 'sbyar.nas.' lit. = to paste an addendum slip on to a MS.

⁷ 'Blo.' (Prajñā) is short for 'Blo.gros'. or 'Blo.gros.skyobs'. (etc.), = Prajñā-rakṣita, for 12 years a disciple of Nāropā, who kept the Muslim advance on Magadha at bay for several years, and at the same time saved Buddhism from brāhmaṇa theological attacks (acc. to 'Dpag.bsam.'). 'Kho' here may be a misprint for 'gros.'

yi. ge-r. bgyis. so. || Me. tog. Sla. Mjes.¹. rgyal.
script-to was reduced || Puṣpa-Candra-Bhadra King's

baahi. sras. po. mchog.² | gañ. sñon. Sla. Ahod.
-son-best | who formerly (as) Candra-Prakāśa-

Gshon. nu.³ shes. byar. gyur.⁴ | Gañs. ri-ahi. Khrod,
-Kumāra all-sciences-from translated | Snowy-Moun-
tains-of

¹ I.e., Bhadra Puṣpa-Candra; 'mjes.' may also be trans. as 'Śrī', 'Śrīmān', 'priya-darśana' or 'su-°'. The appellation 'bhadra' before the name of this prince shows he became a member of the Bud. Church and left off using princely titles.

² 'Sras.po.mchog'. is either 'vara-putra' or 'jyeṣṭha-putra' (the Crown Prince). 'Rgyal. ba' is the same as 'rgyal.po'; the ordinary meaning of 'rgyal.ba'='Jina' does not suit here,—though it is possible to think of a rendering 'Jina-śiṣya-vara' (adj.), in which case 'Jina' might refer to 'Jina-deva', the Abbot of Nālanda after Dharma-pāla. It is equally possible, however, that 'Rgyal.ba.' stands for 'Rgyal.ba.sla.'=Jaya-Candra (who is known as a Candra king from 'Dpag.bsam.'), whose eldest son Puṣpa-Candra would be. But, as noted before, the Candra series Hari-Akṣa-Jaya is much earlier than the generation of Vimala Candra.

³ I.e., Kumāra Prakāśa-Candra; he seems to have assumed the name of 'Bhadra' Puṣpa-Candra after joining the Church.

⁴ 'Shes.byar.gyur.' may be translated also as—"thus-called-for (the sake of) translated", or "thus-called-from became", according as 'shes.byar'. is taken as one word or as='shes.byar.va.la.', and as 'gyur.' is taken as an ordinary mistake for 'ahgyur' or not. The sense would therefore be, *either* that Kumāra Prakāśa Candra later became Bhadra Puṣpa Candra, *or* that the former as such distinguished himself as a Translator and then joined the church as Bhadra P°. C°, *or* that Bhadra P°. C°, translated for the sake of Kumāra Prakāśa Candra (his relative patron of the Candra dynasty). The context of this passage is that one or both of these two Candra princes, *together with* the Great King Vimala Prakāśa (apparently same as Vimala Candra), are remembered with respect by Gambhīra-pā in Tibet long afterwards.

ahdir.¹ Dpal. ldan. Sgam. po. pa.² | Rgyal. mchog.
Border-this-from Śrīmān Gambhīra-pā(da) | (the)
Great King

Dri. med. Aḥod. la.³ phyag. ahchal. te. | gañ. gis.
Vimala-Prakāśa-to hands-folding does | whom-by
skal. mañ. sñon. nas. rjes. bśuñ. yañ.⁴ | dran. dañ.
Kalpas many from-before after-following though |
smṛti and

blo. gros. tiñ. ahjin. dman. dvañ. gis.⁵ | ji. bshin.
prajñā-by (and) dhyāna (and) prayer-power-by | what-
rtogs. te. de. lta. na. yañ. ahdir.⁶ | Dpal. ldan.
manner-in has been expounded that-manner-in also
herein |

¹ The point of the sentence is that, though these 2 princes and the Great King belonged to distant Bāṅgālā, a Buddhist Saint from beyond the Himālayas in Tibet does homage to them for their work for Buddhism in Tibet.

² There is one 'Gambhīra-vajra' known to 'Dpag.bsam'. as a 'tāntrika siddha-panḍita' hailing from Kashmīra, who popularised the 'tantra' of Amṛta-vajra. As 'Sgam.po.pā' speaks from trans-Himālayas, and as Nāropā whom he admires is also very likely a Kashmirian, he is perhaps the same as 'Gambhīra-vajra'.

³ Apparently the same as 'Dri.med.sla.wa'. = Vimala-Candra. 'Rgyal.mchog'. = emperor; Sans.equiv. 'mahārāja' or 'rājādhirāja' etc.

⁴ I.e., who continued to live for many generations. It is a common belief in Tibet that ancient famous teachers and patrons of Buddhism (specially the Indians among them) still continue to live in Tibet, and appear in person to sincere devotees and scholars. 'Rjes.bśuñ'. lit. = 'anu-dhāraṇa', continuing to hold on. 'Sñon.nas.', from ancient times, shows that the Candras were regarded as ancient kings (about whom legendary beliefs were entertained) in the time of the subsequent editors of this work after Atīśa (11th cent.) like Gambhīra-pāda.

⁵ 'Dran.' = smṛti, i.e. continued recollection of what was done by him (Vimala Candra) in ancient times in actual life. 'Tiñ.ahjin.' = 'samādhi' or 'dhyāna'. 'Dman.' is wrong for 'smon.' = prayer or blessing, grace (to or from the Buddha).

⁶ That is, Gambhīra-pāda claims that his version of Prajñā-

Bla. ma-ahi.¹ rnam. thar. yid. bshin. ahphreñ.² |
 Śrīmanta Gurus' caritras to-mind's-liking garlands |
 rab. mjes. bkod, pa-ahi. ba. dan. rnam. mjes. pa.³ |
 well-adorned pavilion's banners various coloured |
 Mgon. mchog.⁴ thugs. rje-ahi. mthu. las. legs. grub.
 Eka-nātha's mercy-of power-through well-
 ste.⁵ | Ma. lus. skye. dgu-ahi. mig. gi. bdud.
 accomplished is | without exception all-beings-eyes-of
 rcir. ni.⁶ | Sad. med. phyi. mthaahi. bar. du. rab.
 nectar verily | destruction-less beyond-the-end-up-to
 well
 tu. gnas.⁷ | Badag. ni.⁸ dus. rnam. kun. tu. Bcom.
 established | I (am indeed) times-all entire-in (the)
 ldan. ahdas.⁹ | Bañ. chen.¹⁰ rab. rcol. khyod. dañ.
 Victorious-Departed (-one) | Messenger well-exerting
 you

rakṣita's version of the Rnam.thar.embodies the teaching of the ancient Great King Vimāla-Candra (in a miraculous way imbibed).

¹ 'Śrī-guru' is still the form used in India (sp. Bengal).

² Sans.equiv. 'manojña-mālā'.

³ Sans.equiv. 'śuśobhita-maṇḍapa-citra-ketaṇaḥ'.

⁴ Lit., 'protector-sole'. 'Nātha' is always trans. by 'mgon'.

⁵ 'Thugs.rje'=lit. mind's best or noblest=mercy; 'mthu'.
 ='prabhāva'; 'legs.grub.'='su-siddha'.

⁶ Sans.equiv. 'akhila-saṃsāra-netrāmṛtaṃ'.

⁷ Sans.equiv. 'akṣayānanta-kālāntaparastāt-supraṭiṣṭhitam'.

⁸ This couplet is, as it were, uttered by the Buddha himself, inspiring Gambhīra-pāda thereby; 'Bdag.'=I=Buddha; and 'khyod'=you=Gambhīrapāda.

⁹ Lit.=Jina-Tathāgata=Buddha. It is noteworthy that Buddha is often called Jina in Tibetan, as also Buddhist saints; probably this shows Bengal influence in Tibet, for Bengal was also in those days a stronghold of Jainism.

¹⁰ Lit.=footman, message or errand bearer.

mi. ahbral. shiñ.¹ | Ḍombi. rnal. ahbyor. dvañ.
 too without-separation | Ḍombi(-pā) yogīśvara's
po-ahi.² Lam. bsañ. las.³ | ahgro. rnams. yud. kyis.
bhadra-yāna-through | moving-beings-all quickly
rnam. ahdren. ñid. ahgyur. cig.⁴ || Om. Svasti.⁵
vināyakas themselves become truly || Om Svasti ||

¹ I.e., constant, 'avicchinna', 'naiṣṭhika', 'dṛdha-bhakti'.

² Ḍombipā (or Ṭombipā), a fisherman of Pāṭaliputra, who became a 'siddha-tāntrika' and took a 'Ḍombinī' woman as his spiritual consort for 'mahāmundrā'; he was Nāropās disciple (when he was in Magadha apparently) and Atīśa's teacher; hence his praise in this work is quite fitting. It would be curious, if Machuāṭoli and Ḍomṭuli areas of Patna ever disclose remains of later Buddhist monastic establishments associated with Macchīndra-Nātha (Mina-pāda), Lui-pāda (a fisherman) and Ḍombī-pāda.

³ 'Lam.bsañ' may also be rendered 'sukha'-or 'preya'-yāna; perhaps this good path of the mystic tāntrik saint Ḍombipā was the prototype of the subsequent 'sahaja'-yāna(panthā) or 'pīrītir path' (pīrīti-panthā) of 'vaiṣṇava' literature, which emphasises spiritual effort through a woman of choice. Can the old saying in Bengal about love not caring for the Ḍom caste have a basis in the Ḍombipā episode, which must have been widely appreciated in early medieval Bengal?

⁴ 'Ahgro.rnam.' may also be trans. 'every person'; and 'yud.kyis.' 'instantaneously', 'kṣaṇāt'. 'Rnam.' 'ahdren'=complete guide='vināyaka'; cf. the Buddha's last instruction: 'be full guides unto yourselves'; possibly Ḍombipā claimed he could enable every man to lead himself to salvation by his own spiritual effort very quickly,—and this 'sahaja' (natural, easy, and quick) panthā was his 'bhadra-yāna' as illustrated in his own life.

⁵ Here the first and the original portion of the Colophon ends. To this is subjoined a continuation, rather rambling, which mentions several other well-known Buddhist teachers, and also ends with the usual 'Svasti'.

NINETY-THREE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE KURKIHAR BRONZES

PATNA MUSEUM

By A. BANERJI-SASTRI

In 1930, 231 objects of antiquarian interest were recovered from a room, at present underground, in a mound at Kurkihar, Pargana Narhat, in the district of Gaya. These were acquired under 'Treasure Trove' in 1935 and were received at the Patna Museum through the Collector of Gaya from Rai Hari Prasad Lal, Zamindar of Kurkihar.

Of these objects 226 are images of gods and goddesses of northern Buddhism obtaining in North Bengal from the 9th to the 11th centuries A.D. Most of these images are of bronze, very few gilt or thickly coated with gold. 93 of these images are inscribed, in the halo, at the top, on the sides, on the pedestal or at the back.

The *find-spot* of these inscribed images, Kurkihar is 16 miles to the east of Gaya. Kurkihar was identified by General Cunningham with the site of the ancient Kukkuṭapādagiri or Cock's feet mountain visited by Hiuen Tsiang in the 7th century. It is 3 miles to the N.E. of Wazirganj in the head-quarters subdivi-

¹ Rep., A. S. I., Vol. I, pp. 13-16; Vol. XV, pp. 4-6.

² I. A., Vol. XXX, 1901, pp. 84-90.

³ Dikshit, Mem., A.S.I., No. 55, pp. 74-75; Plates LIX and LXV.

sion. Stein on the other hand sought to identify Kukkuṭapādagiri with Hasra Hill, a hill 4 miles S. S. W. of Wazirganj. Kukkuṭapādagiri was visited by both Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsiang. The earliest and greatest of Buddha's disciples Kāśyapa lies buried at Kukkuṭapādagiri, the mountain having burst asunder to receive him. As the present finds confirm Cunningham's identification regarding the far greater importance of the site of Kurkihar, an extract is given in Appendix I describing the route of Hiuen Tsiang.

The *characters* belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of the 9th-11th centuries A.D. They are similar to the other well-known inscriptions of the Pāla period, a list of which is appended in Appendix II. The seals and other inscribed objects reproduced in Plate LIX of *Excavations at Paharpur, Bengal* show practically the same features. On palæographic grounds none of the inscriptions would appear to be as old as the twelfth century A.D. Cf. Plate LXVb in *Excavations at Paharpur, op. cit.*, p. 74. Most of the scribes were careful, hasty incision being noticeable on the minor images.

In *orthography*, many of the peculiarities of the Monghyr grant of Devapāla, and the Hilsa statue inscription of the thirty-fifth year of Devapāla are found in these inscriptions.

The *language* is Sanskrit, but often incorrect Sanskrit. The following mistakes in spelling are fairly common:—

- (a) *ī* for *i*; inscr. no. 22.
- (b) *ś* for *s*; inscr. no. 55.
- (c) *v* for *b*; inscr. no. 51.

(d) mistakes in grammatical forms; *paramopāski*,
inscr. no. 53, *upāski*, inscr. no. 20.

The inscriptions of the second, third, fifth, ninth, eleventh and seventeenth kings of the Pāla dynasty are well known. The Kurkihar inscriptions refer to Devapāla, Rājyapāla, Mahīpāla and Vighrahapāla. From palaeography, this Vighrahapāla appears to be Vighrahapāla III. The relative positions of these Pāla kings, their geneology and chronology are given in Appendices III and IV.

The subject-matter of the inscriptions records the gift of images from various donors and their relatives residing in different monasteries or hailing from distant places like Kāñcī, Kerala, Mallapora etc. Some of these monasteries like that at Āpaṇaka or (59) places like Pūrvā (2) or Vāhiravaṇa (88) require further study for their identification or proper significance. Names of the donors, the then Pāla kings, monasteries and countries are given in Appendices VI, V, VII and VIII.

As the Kurkihar bronze images in the Patna Museum constitute the single largest collection of their kind extant and thus offer a unique opportunity of studying the Buddhist pantheon through the moulders' art in four successive centuries from the eighth to the twelfth, so this series of inscriptions thereon present facilities for a study of the script continuously from the ninth to the eleventh centuries.

The estampages have been prepared at the Patna Museum through the good offices of the Curator with the kind permission of the President of the Managing Committee, Mr. P. C. Manuk.

1. Dated 1074.

1. Svasti śrīmant-*Vīgrahapāla-deva-rājādhirāja*²
Prama (Parama)-bhaṭāraka-rāje saṁmat³ 19.

2. Mahātam Mṛidvala...ta || Utīmarākasya².

Records the gift of the images in the 19th year of king Vīgrahapāla probably by one Utīmarāka.

The meaning of a few lines at the beginning of the second line is not clear.

Translation. Blessing. His Majesty Vīgrahapāla-deva, the King of Kings. The year 19 in the reign of the most pious sovereign.

2

1. Svasti¹ ye dharmmā (hetu)-prabhavā hetun=teshān=Tathāgato hy=avadat=teshāñ=ca yo nirodha evam=vādī mahāśramaṇaḥ ||

2. Śrī-²Kāñci-deśa-vidite = 'rkkila-pūrvā-nāmnī grāme='vadāta-nāga-koshṭha-vare prasiddhe (1*)
jātaḥ sushīla-narato = 'mṛitavarmanāmā bhikṣur = ji-

3. na pratimā-ratna-varaṁ chakāra ||

Records the gift of the image by the monk Amṛita-varman, hailing from Kāñci.

Translation. Line 1. As above.

Line 2.3. Born in the village with the name beginning with Akkila, famous as the chief treasure of Avadāta Nāga, well-known in the country of Śrī-Kāñci, descended from Sushilanara the Bhikshu Amṛtavarma by name made this beautiful jewel of Jina image.

3

1. Svasti ye dharmmā hetu-prabhavā hetun=teshān Tathāgato hy=avadat=teshāñ=ca yo nirodha evam=vā ||.

2. -dīmahāśramaṇaḥ ||.

Translation. 1-2. Blessing. Those Functions that are born of Causes. The Tathāgata (lit. one who has arrived thereat) indeed knew those Causes, and that Restraint of these too, the great Śramaṇa saying thus.

4. Dated c. 1074

1. Svasti śrīman-Vigrahapāla-devasya rājādhirajah.

2. Pramabhaṭāka-rāje saṃmat 19 mahatama-

3. Dulapavadhu—Pekhokāyāḥ.

Records the gift of the image in the 19th year of king Vigrahapāla by Pekhokā, the wife or daughter-in-law of the *mahattama* Dulapa.

Translation. Blessing. Of His Majesty Vighra-pāladeva, the King of Kings. In the year 19 of his most pious reign, of the wife or daughter-in-law of Mahattama Dulapa.

5. Dated c. 1058

1. Svasti¹ śrīma-Vigrahapāladeva-vijaya-rāje saṃmat 3.

2. devadharmo = 'yam pravara-mahāyāna- jaina pramopāsa—

3. ka-Dulapa-sutaḥ Tikukasya.

Records the gift of the image in the 3rd year of King Vigrahapāla by Tikuka, the son of the Mahāyāna lay worshipper Dulapa.

Translation. Blessing. Year 3 of His Majesty Vigrahapāladeva's victorious reign, this is the sacred gift of Tikuka, son of Dulapa the devoted worshipper of the great Mahāyāna Jaina.

6

Svasti Stha-Kāñci-Vu (Bu) dha-Varmma-stha-Dharmmavarmmaṇaḥ.

Records the gift of the image by the *sthaviras* Budhavarman and Dharmavarman hailing from Kāñchī.

Translation. Blessing. Of Sthavira Budhavarman of Kāñchī and of Sthavira Dharmavarman.

7

Kālitāru.

Translation. Kālitāru.

8

Buddhist creed followed by Kāñchi-Dūtasīṅha.

Translation. Buddhist formula. Kāñcī Dūtasīṅha.

9

Buddhist creed, much obliterated; there were about 10 letters after the creed.

10

Buddhist creed in three lines, followed by Kāñchi-Prabhākarasiṃha (Siṃha). 10th Century.

Translation. Buddhist Formula. Kāñcī Prabhākarasiṃha.

11

Devadharmmo = 'yaṃgāri (?) 'The gift of Gāri' (?) 11th Century.

Translation. This the consecrated deed of Gāri.

12

Buddhist creed followed by Devadharmo = 'yaṃ.....(broken).

13

Buddhist creed on all the four sides of the pedestal. 9th Century.

14

Buddhist creed followed by Nānokara, probably the name of the donor. 11th Century.

15

Rāṇo-devadharma. 'The gift of Rāṇo'.

Translation. The sacred gift of Rāṇo (of the king?).

16

Buddhist creed. 10th Century.

17

Rāo (?) Paniśiva-devadharmmāya (rmmo='yam)

18

Buddhist creed followed by deyadharmmo='yam
Kāñci-sthavira-Mañjuśrīvarmmaṇaḥ. 'The gift of
the *sthavira* Mañjuśrī of Kāñci.'

19

Buddhist creed. 11th Century.

20

Buddhist creed followed by U(pā) sakī-Duvasa,
probably the name of the donor. 11th Century.

21

Vaṇika-māṇekasya Jānuśu (su) ta. 'of the mer-
chant Māṇeka, the son of Jānu.' 9th Century.

22

Buddhist creed, followed by Upāsaki-Gopālī-Sātakasya.

23

1. Svasti devadharmmo='yam Kāñchi-vinir-gataḥ.

2. Bhikshu-Virjavarmanṇasyaḥ. 'The gift of the monk Vīryavarman, hailing from Kāñcī'.

24

Tāka—dharmadeva. Probably the name of the donor.

25

Buddhist creed followed by Kāñci-Prabhākaras (i*) ṅgha, which shows that the donor was Prabhākara Simha of Kāñcī. 10th Century.

26

Only two letters: Sāme.

27

Four or five indistinct letters:

28

Buddhist creed.

There is an indistinct inscription on the front of the pedestal probably embodying the pious wish of transferring all the merit to the teacher etc. of the donor.

29

A few indistinct and broken letters.

30

Magodevadharmmao='yaḥ 'the gift of Mago'.

31

Kāñci-(Bu)ddhavarṃma-Gandhakuṭya. Probably recording the gift at Gandhakuṭi by Buddhavarman of Kāñci.

32

Kā(ñci)-stha-Buddha-varṃma-Gandhakuṭya.

Cf. No. 31

33

Kalāṇḍa. Probably the name of the donor.

34

Two indistinct letters.

35

Two letters: Pala within the lotus petals of the pedestal.

36

Two indistinct letters.

37

Rājokasa, 'of Rājoka'.

38

Sahasa. of Saha.¹ Ninth Century.

39

Three indistinct letters.

40

Gopāli (?) ñcharo, each letter being enclosed in a lotus petal of the pedestal.

41

Two indistinct letters.

¹ The name of the donor may have been *Simha*, if the first *sa* of the inscription is corrected to *si*.

42

Two indistinct letters.

43

Nāgasya(?)

44

Buddhist creed. 11th Century.

45

Two indistinct letters.

46

Four lines containing twelve indistinct letters.

47

Ye dharmma mahadedhi (?).

48

Buddhist creed.

49. *Dated 1023 A.D.*

1. Svasti śrīman=Mahipāla-deva-rā(jyasa*).

2. mvat 31 suvarṇṇa-kāra-Kesavassa.....

3. sya (?) devadharmma.

'The gift of the goldsmith Keśava in the 31st year of the illustrious Mahipāla'.

50

Buddhist creed.

51

1. Svasti¹ deyadharmmo=yaṁ śākya-bhikshu-pravara-mahāyāna-yāyina (ḥ*) kāñchi-maṇḍala-odbhūta-sthavi-.

2. ra-Vu (Bu) ddha (?) jñānasya yad=atra puṇya (m*) tad=bhavatu upādhyāy-āchārya-pūrvam gamam kṛtvā sakala—

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

3. Sat (t*) va-r (ā*) śer=anuttara-jñāna-p (r*)
āptaye iti...tim (?) maya Sahasukena.

Records the gift of the image by Buddhajñāna, a Buddhist monk of the Māhāyāna sect and also the usual wish of transferring the merit to others. At the end another name Sahasuka occurs. 10th Century.

52

✓1. Svasti¹ śrīmat-Kāñcīm=alamkurvan=nasti
grāmaḥ satām=mataḥ (r*) Narasimha-chaturvedī-
maṅgala-ākhyo mahīyasām || dvijānām=ālayo ramyo
Veda-vedāṅga-

2. vedinā (m*) (r*) tatra vipra-ānvaye śuddhe
labdha-janmā guṇānvitaḥ || yo Vairochanasimhasya
sthavirasya guṇodadheḥ || Prajñāsimha iti khyāta
(h*) śishyo=²bhū d=guṇinām=

3. mataḥ || śo (so)='kārayad=idam vimv
(mb) am Saugataṁ ghaṭa (?) n-oj (j*) vala (m*) (r*)
Suddharāti (?) mayam bhaktyā nyāyām mārṅa (m*).
samāśritaḥ || anena puṇyen=ācāry—opādhyāya-
sahitam

4. jagata (t) (r*) mātā-pitṛi-samāyukta (m*)
saugataṁ padamā— =pnuyāta (t) || Śri-Rājyapāla-
nāmni kṣiti-bhṛiti bhuvam=avati kīrttir=atimahatī |
abde=²pta (shṭā) vimśatime kṛitā (si) ta-dinā (e) pta
(shṭa) vaiśākhe ||.

Records the gift of the image by one who was born in a village in Kāñcī bearing the auspicious name Narasimha-chaturvedin in a family of Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedas and Vedāṅgas and who later on

² The first three verses are in the *anuṣṭubh* metre and the fourth one in the *āryā*.

became a disciple, Prajñāsīmha by name, of the *sthavira* Vairocana Sīmha. The inscription contains the usual pious wish of transferring the merit to the teachers, parents and all the living creatures, and goes on to say that...this great deed viz., the erection of the image was done in the 28th year of king Rājyapāla on the 8th day of the bright Vaiśākha.

53

Buddhist creed followed by Paramopāsaki Mañju (?).

Translation. Buddhist formula as above.

The devoted nun.

54

Four indistinct letters, probably reading yekh-ākāyā.

55

Su (Su) va (ba) lamati devadharma (rmmo)=
'ya (yam), 'The gift of Suvalamati'.

56

Buddhist creed followed by U (pā) saki-Duvasa,
'the gift of the lay-worshipper Duva.'

57

Buddhist creed.

58

Dated 935 A.D.

✓Svasti¹ Śrī-Rājyapāla deva-rāje samvacchare 32
Śrīmad=Āpaṇaka-mahā-vima² hāre Gopālahino (?)-
bhārya (ā) Vātu (?) kāya (āḥ) devadharma kṛitam
Sopālahorā shṭha (stha) pati-pātitaṁ. Vasudhā³.

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

² There are scratches over the letter mā, to indicate its being struck off.

³ The word occurs in the middle of the inscription.

Records the gift of the image by Vā (ṭu) kâ the wife of Gopālahino (?) in the Āpaṇaka monastery¹ in the 32nd year of king Rājyapāla. The image was probably cast by the architect (?) Śopālahorā, a curious name though there is no doubt about the reading. 10th Century.

59. Dated 935 A.D.

✓ Svasti² Śrī-Rājyapāla-deva-rāje samvacchare 32 śrīmad=Āpaṇaka=mahāvihāre vāstavya-Gopālahino (?) -bhārya (ā) Gaukayā devadharma...horāsthapati-pātitaṃ.

The contents of the inscription are the same as of No. 31 except that the name of the wife here is Gaukā.

60

Four indistinct letters.

61

Four indistinct letters.

62

Achharī-ko (au) verī-jāmba-ha...

Possibly the inscription gave a part of some Buddhist *dhāraṇī*, but it is now too fragmentary for any connected meaning.

63

Buddhist creed followed by Kāñci-Rāhulavarm-maṇaḥ. 'The gift of Rāhulavarman of Kāñci.' 10th Century.

¹ There is a reference to the Āpaṇaka monastery in an inscription on a Mathura image of the Buddha.

² Expressed by a symbol.

67

Devadharmo yaṁ Jayataḥ 'the gift of Jayat'.

68

Buddhist creed.

69

1. Svasti deyadharm (o*)='yaṁ Khamgākasya ya (da*) tra puṇyam tad=bha (va*) tvā (tu) ācāry-opādhyāya-mātā

2. piṭṭ-pūrvanāgamaṁ kṛtvā sakala-sat (t*) v-ānuttara-jñā (n-ā*) vāptaye (i*) ti.

Records the gift of the image by Khamgāka and ends with the wish that the merit may accrue to the teachers and parents of the donor and to all living creatures, helping them to the attainment of Supreme Knowledge.

70

Svasti Kāñci-Candravarmaṇaḥ; 'the gift of Candravarman of Kāñci'.

80

Buddhist creed.

81

1. Bhaṭa-putra-paḍakasa.

2. Āditasara....

'The gift of Paḍaka, the son of Bhaṭa'. The meaning of the last word is not clear.

82

Five illegible letters carelessly engraved.

Eleventh Century.

83

Buddhist creed followed by: Devadharmo='yaṁ param-opāsaka-Gopālahinokāyā, 'the gift of the

lay worshipper Gopālahinokā.' There is another inscription further below but is indistinct. 11th Century.

84

✓ Śrī-Rājyapāla-deva-rāje samvachhare 31 śrīmad=Āpaṇaka-mahāvihāre vastāvya-Mahiarubhārya(ā)-Mūlakāyā devadharma kṛtaṁ. Gopāla.

Records the gift of the image by Mūlakā, the wife of Mahiaru, a resident of the Āpaṇaka monastery, in the 31st year of king Rājyapāla. The word Gopāla appearing at the end may represent the name of the sculptor.

Ninth Century

85

* The Buddhist creed occurs at the back of the halo, while the front of the pedestal is inscribed with:

devadharma=’yam Buddhavarmaṇa, ‘the gift of Buddhavarman’. 9th Century.

Translation. Buddhist formula as above.
The pious deed of Buddhavarman.

86

Buddhist creed.

87

Buddhist creed, followed by: Kāñcī-Nāgendra-varmaṇa, ‘the gift of Nāgendrarman of Kāñcī.’

88

1. Svasti¹ śrī-Devapāla-deva-rājye Samvat 9
Vāhiravaṇe Saddhu-grā-

2. ma-v (ā) stavya-Grāmalaka-p (r) adhāna-
śidhma (?) kapatnī-Asukena mallaka-

3. Cchandakam Mallaporasya pratipāditaḥ.

The meaning of the inscription is not quite clear; it is evident that it records the gift of the image to Mallapore (possibly a monastery) by the wife of Sidhmaka, who was a resident of the Saddhu village in Vāhiravaṇa and seems to have been the village chief.

89

Obliterated inscription, a bell with only two letters radhī.

90

1. Svasti¹ devadharmmo = 'yam Kāñci- .

2. vinirgataḥ bhikṣu-Virjava-

3. rmmasyaḥ.

Translation. 1. Blessing. The pious gift of Bhikṣu Virjavarmma hailing from Kāñci.

91

Buddhist creed followed by Kāñci-stha-Avaloke (ki)-ta-singha-devadharmmaye Keraladesa (śa) sya.

'The gift of the *sthavira* of Kāñci Avalokitasimha belonging to the Kerala country.'

92

Devadharmo = 'yam Maṅga (?) ne-karmakāra
'The gift of the blacksmith Maṅgane' (?)

93

Buddhist creed.

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

Miscellaneous Article

S. H. HODIVALA'S STUDIES IN INDO-MUSLIM HISTORY

By S. H. ASKARI

By undertaking the laborious and difficult task of providing a critical and explanatory Commentary on, and a systematic and, as he claims, 'an exhaustive review' of the contents of the eight volumes of Elliot and Dowson's "History of India as told by its own Historians", Prof. S. H. Hodivala, the learned author of the "Studies in Mughal Numismatics", has rendered a great service to all students of Indo-Muslim History and Culture. "Great as the value of Elliot's work is to the Muhammadan historians of India", says Sir J. N. Sarkar, "it is not always reliable in its details, especially in the case of obscure proper names". 'The encyclopaedic character of their work' and their anxiety to present to their European readers all that they deemed useful and worth preserving not only prevented minute attention to all the parts but also led Elliot and his learned colleagues to overlook sometime the faults of the original texts they handled and to give at places misleading rendering of the extracts they selected. A revision of their monumental work had become an urgent necessity because the appearance of increased quantity of materials and the discovery of many new texts and better manus-

cripts during the last 60 years have shaken belief in its infallibility. Indeed the scholarly production of Prof. Hodivala wherein we get a rectification of the errors of interpretation and transliteration, discussion and elucidation of ambiguous and controversial questions, determination of disputed chronology, and description of Indian topography, has supplied a long-felt need. The learned Commentator, it has been rightly pointed out by Sir Richard Burn in his brief Foreword, "has worked through all the new materials, selecting, criticizing and adding his own suggestions where previous comments do not exist or appear unsuitable".

These notes and explanations are, as far as the present reviewer has been able to check them with the help of a number of very old and fairly correct MSS. of his village library, informing, accurate and acceptable. It would suffice to turn up a few pages dealing with the translated extracts of *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* to know the scholarly care with which Prof. Hodivala has established facts both in regard to the texts and their translations. Faulty translations have been rectified regarding increment in the allowances of Akbar's ladies and not of their attendants (597), hereditary tendency to insanity in Khusru's mother and the members of her family, Khusru, and not his father being sad and downcast (599), 'Chowki' meaning 'to mount guard' and not Chair (604), "Sakanā" (inhabitants) being misread as "Singhs", (607) and 'eight nights' being magnified into 'eight years' (612) etc. etc. Interpolations and unwarranted additions have been exposed in the case of "Rupees", after Karors (598)

and in regard to the alleged sarcastic remarks of Emperor Jahangir against the Kashmiris (614). The dates of Akbar's death and of Jahangir's accession, as given in the texts, have been corrected (696-7), and many other misprints and misreadings have been pointed out.

It would not be out of place to mention that the copy of *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, just now before me, however, gives Nisāri (instead of Aishyari), Tapardas and Khawaja Waisi (for Hardas Rai and Khawaja Quraishi), Hodal and Hazare Qārlugh (in place of Hindāl and Fārāgh), سلسان Sulusān (misread as Multan), Sarai Qazi Ali (wrongly mentioned as the garden of Agha Ali), Chunan چنان i.e. "as such" mistaken for Jāts جاتس etc. which Prof. Hodivala has correctly substituted for the wrong words and expressions, found in Elliot's work. Although the texts, of both the *Tuzuk* and *Iqbalnama*, consulted by Prof. Hodivala, read 'Gorakhpur'—the word which also occurs in Elliot's translation,—yet the learned commentator rightly points it out to be an error for 'Kharakpur' (Distt. Monghyr in Bihar), a name which is clearly written in the reviewer's manuscript (F. 137a). In it, however, one finds certain important variations such as چہال (not Jaipal or Chabbal) ابوالوزبک (instead of Abul Bani or Abul Beg) مارٹع (rightly corrected as Qarlugh). ششیرالمانی (and not the sword of Almasi or Yamani as translated or suggested) etc. Again the present MS. describes Jauhar Mal (and neither Champar Mal, as given by Elliot nor Suraj Mal as suggested by Prof. Hodivala) as brother's son and not the son of Raja Basu.

Turning to some other manuscripts, one finds practically the same care to ascertain and establish facts, especially about dates and names of places and persons. The reviewer's copies of *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* and *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan* also prove the value of Prof. Hodivala's suggestions and corrections. In the former there is no mention of Shah Alam but of his brother, Azam Shah, whom Aurangzeb sent to "remedy the confusion in the province of Malwa", and in the latter, which is very old, well written, and generally free from mistakes in respect of proper names, some very glaring inaccuracies of dates as corrected by Prof. Hodivala are found avoided. The words *لُٹکارا* and *باطنی* (wrongly spelt by Elliot as *Puikara* and *Māti*) which have been read by the author of the book under review as *Lutkara*, i.e., (plunderers) and *Batini* (i.e., news or espionage) are too clearly written in the MS. just in hand to warrant any such modification. Moreover, there is no such word in dictionary as *Lutkara* whereas *Jameul-Lughat* contains two different words, namely *لَوْن* i.e., *lavan* or *laun* and *لُٹکارا* the former, meaning the process of cutting, reaping, stopping, and the latter indicating progress in quarrels and conflicts. The literal meaning of *Batini* is internal or concealed and, therefore, we need not disturb it, considering the description given in the text of "men who as night-watch or pickets stand here and there by way of carefulness at a distance from the main army".

Time and space do not allow any further consideration of other sections. It is to be noted, however, that though one is struck with admiration at the vast quantity of literature digested with such ability,

wisdom and discretion and at the wealth of information furnished in such a compressed form in the remarkably compact volume under review by the unaided effort of a 'single scholar', yet one cannot expect the learned author to have worked out and handled all the materials with anything like fullness. The translated extracts of some important works have been left untouched and certain loopholes which may prove misleading have escaped notice. It would suffice to mention only one glaring omission. Bayan-i-Waka of Khawaja Abdul Karim contains very valuable materials for the history of mid-eighteenth century India. On folio 132a of the reviewer's MS. occurs the following sentence "And the troops called Dagh-i-Sin of Nawab Saadat Khan *deceased*, which Safdar Jung Bahadur had continued in their existing state as an auspicious thing, were allowed to remain by him (Imad-ul-Mulk) and they were put under the command of Aqibat Mahmud Khan and renamed Sin-i-Dagh." Elliot's translation runs thus—"the troops of horse called Dagh-i-Sin which Nawab Saadat Khan (likely to be confused with Amirul Umra Saadat Khan, an ally of Safdar Jung in the civil war—reviewer) had left behind, he (Imad) kept in perfect order, and appointed Mahmud Khan to their command"(Elliot VIII, 138). Just below this we read in Elliot "the Nawab Wazir spread the report that they (Jats and Kazalbash soldiers) had gone to the Kashmiri Gate. So, the citizens were in a dilemma on both sides",—whereas the reviewer's MS. says "the Nawab Wazir caused the news to spread that he had fixed the side of Kashmiri Gate as a place of safety and refuge and, consequently, the inhabitants of the

other side transferred themselves towards the Kashmiri Gate. The people of the city fell in a strange dilemma.....". These examples show that Prof. Hodivala's brilliant production required a more exhaustive and careful study.

In conclusion the reviewer ventures to advance his impression that the work of Elliot and Dowson is bound to remain as an indispensable source of information, even for those who are fairly conversant with the Arabic and Persian, for many of the original works are generally inaccessible or are not available at all, but nobody can expect to utilize the translated extracts without falling into pitfalls unless he keeps the excellent and scholarly work of Prof. Hodivala constantly by his side. Indeed, the book under review, forms a sort of companion volume of the magnificent productions of the great pioneers in the field.

Reviews of Books

SOURCES OF KARNĀṬAKA HISTORY I. *By*
S. Śrī-Kaṇṭha Sāstrī. (Mysore Univ., 1940).
8½ × 5½, pp. i-xviii, 1-238.

'Source books' of Indian History are still to be written, and so the compilation of one dealing with even a section of Indian History cannot but be welcome. Such regional studies have an utility of their own: historical materials, fragmentary or incidental, which otherwise are apt to be lost sight of in general surveys of India as a whole, come into limelight and acquire a fresh significance for that wider study; local patriotism is roused, leading to enthusiasm for study, exploration and collation of fresh local historical materials; and even remote or forgotten parts of the country come to feel pride in a certain share in the bigger national history; besides if a comprehensive Source Book of Indian History is ever to be compiled by some future Board of Aitihāsikas (emulating the Paurāṇikas of Badarikāśrama), the spade work has to be done by the drawing up of regional source books like the present one. Yet there are disadvantages of such studies too; the compiler is easily tempted to extend the sphere of his selected region, specially if he belongs to it, and to include in his collection materials which might as well or better pertain to a Source Book for another neighbouring region;

he slips into making claims for his Select 'region', which would rouse comments in other 'regions', or at least a smile; and he might make a little too much of local personalities and events without reference to the background of the main contemporary history of the country as a whole.

These advantages and defects are equally featured in the present work. Thus in the Foreword we are told that the regions and histories of Banavāsi, Badami, Malkhed, Kalyāṇi and Deogiri, are all within those of Karnāṭaka; the definition of Karnāṭaka given in the first para. of the Introduction is much too wide,—Godāvarī to Kāverī and Arabian Sea to 78° long.; since the proposed 2nd Vol. contemplates inclusion of Vijaynagar history, there is no reason why the Peninsula to the East of 78° long. should be left out, thus excluding the Karnāṭic; the geographical divisions enumerated in the Introduction refer only partly to Karnāṭa, the object of those lists being to describe Peninsular India in general; from the quoted lists it is on the other hand clear that Karnāṭa was only one very small region, distinct from Vanavāsi, Koṅkaṇa, Kuntala and dozens of other historically separate entities. Perhaps a better plan would have been to take the 'linguistic' map of Kaṇādā as it is now and at different periods as the background of the collection. If Satavāhanas, Kādambas, Pallavas, Chālukyas and Rāṣtrakūṭas are to be regarded as 'essentially Karnāṭaka' dynasties,—Mauryas, Guptas, or Senas might also be called essentially Bāṅgālā dynasties; such generalisations err on the side of local patriotism. But even making an allowance for

this, it comes as a surprise to read that the Sañjana grant of Amoghavarṣa referring to the defeat by Dhruva of Vatsarāja of Rajputana and Dharmapala in the Doāb, is a source of Kaṛṇāṭaka history. In the section on Political History (of Kaṛṇāṭaka) the whole dynastic histories of non-Kaṛṇāṭa Chālukyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Yādavas, etc., are included as Kaṛṇāṭa history. Under 'Literature and Fine Arts', amongst other claims is this one; 'the famous Ajaṇṭa and Ellora paintings are the works of the Kaṛṇāṭaka people'. As evidence of the flourishing of all religions amongst Kaṛṇāṭakas it is stated that Chalukyas patronised Jainas like Ravikīrti, Chālukyas of Kalyānī were Śaivas, and Hieun Tsang found Buddhism in Koṅkaṇa and Mahārāṣṭra. Polo becomes a Kaṛṇāṭaka game because Indra IV was proficient in it. In the section of Kaṛṇāṭaka culture the special features of it are said to be due to the mixture of a number of ethnic groups and languages; this however is common to many other regional entities in Peninsular India, and is nothing very peculiar to the Kaṛṇāṭakas. The Kaṛṇāṭaka language "extending in the north up to Sindh (Brahui) and Bundelkhand and in the South up to the Nīlagiris" is a statement calculated to revise all linguistic surveys. The compiler finds much evidence of religious toleration in the South before the 13th century; historians will at once think of so many other instances of religious fanaticism and persecution in the South from the 6th century onwards. Inter-marriages were common in the whole of India in the early medieval period, and Kaṛṇāṭaka is no special case, nor is the co-existence of Jainism, Buddhism, Śaivism and

Vaiṣṇavism, nor pursuit of different religions by members of the same family. Many other regions of India have shown the same fluidity and adaptability of culture in medieval or modern times. If any special set of causes is to be looked for in the case of Karnāṭaka to account for its 'fluidity', this may be found in the fact that it was very often subject to ruling races coming from outside Karnāṭaka. The compiler has done well in drawing attention to the charm a northward trek has for the people of Karnāṭaka; in our own times for example many Karnāṭis have actually chosen to work and settle in various parts of North India; that, again, is nothing special to Karnāṭis; we can at once think of many trends of interprovincial migrations in medieval and modern India; in fact the earlier we go back in history the more do we get the cross currents of ethnic and cultural nature flowing more actively. Speaking of the 'Karnāṭi' Sena dynasty, it is to be noted that a ruling family of the Simla Hill States today is descended from them; that takes Karnāṭa 1000 miles further north.

This collection of Sources would have gained in usefulness if the Sanskrit, Kanarese, Telegu and Tamil passages were also given in closely literal English translations, and if the Roman Script had been used throughout. The brief English Summaries appended to the original passages help none, neither the critical expert nor the beginner, and they sometimes leave out important and interesting points. A detailed Map showing the findspots or 'associations' of the 'Sources' and illustrating early medieval geography

and history, would have been a valuable commentary to the compilation.

On the whole we welcome this publication as a worthy attempt which will show the way to many other scholars, and which will be eminently useful to all interested in South Indian Studies.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA for the first time critically edited *by* Vishnu S. Sukthankar and illustrated from Ancient Models by Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi Raja of Aundh. Fascicule 10 Udyogparvan (2). Poona. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. 1940, 11¼ × 8¾, pp. i-liv, 1-739.

The present fascicule edited by Dr. Sushil Kumar De, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Dacca, follows the sound principles laid down by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar and testifies to the steady progress made towards a gradual approach to the completion of the first critical edition of the Mahābhārata. Besides the Northern Recension, North-western Central groups and the Southern Recension MSS., thirteen commentaries have been utilised in examining the text. Of these latter, the commentary of Devabodha appears to be the earliest and most important. The commentaries of Arjunamiśra, Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa, Śaṅkara (only on the Sanatsujāta) and of Nīlakaṇṭha have proved useful in the constitution of the critical text.

The characteristics, chronology and provenance of these commentaries have been discussed by Dr. Sukthankar in the Prolegomena to the Ādiparva pp. lxiii-lxx and ABORI 17 (1936), pp. 185-202. The

MSS., of the texts are mostly of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, only two being dated ca. A.D. 1566 and A.D. 1600 respectively. The date of the Javanese version is earlier than all these MSS. but its use is limited being only an abridged adaptation in Javanese of the original.

The question of the *Ur* version of the Mahābhārata as well as of the Rāmāyaṇa (cf. *Reuben Studien Zur Textgeschichte des Rāmāyaṇa*) still remains and will probably always remain uncertain. It has been always recognised that *Itihāsa-Purāṇābhyām Vedam samupavṛṇhayet*. But it is not known in what form the epic (*itihāsa*) Mahābhārata spread in the interval between the Vedas and its first definite mention as the battle between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍus in Kātyāyana's Vārtika iv. 12. 40 on Pāṇini (IV century B.C.) and its undoubted reference to the current Mahābhārata story in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya (II century B.C.). It is equally doubtful when the various versions obtaining locally in the different local dialects and transmitted orally were finally put down in writing and written in Sanskrit. Like the *Rāmopākhyāna* in the Mahābhārata, differing from Vālmiki's version which again varying from the Rāvaṇavadha or Bhaṭṭikāvya not to speak of the Adbhūta-Rāmāyaṇa following a version of its own—it is not clear whether the Northern and Southern recensions claimed to be descended from the *Ur*-Mahābhārata supposed to be based on Vyāsa's Bhārata may not after all be based on now-lost local versions of the original story or stories. It is an impossible problem to decide on the available

sources as late as the XVI century and later still. In respect to the majority of the versions, the period of composition has unfortunately been merely the subject of refined and useless conjecture. Internal evidences of construction and style, and metrical and grammatical tests can very rarely in themselves be relied upon to establish chronology. Specific phases of style or metre necessarily had periods of commencement, but, so long as most of these epochs are merely conjectural little real progress can be made in the enquiry. Nor as a rule the results obtained from aesthetic criticism, which depend to some extent upon the individual sentiment of the critic, are of much greater certainty.

Dr. Sukthankar's critical edition is, however, the very best that could be done under the admittedly difficult circumstances. In view of the importance of the Mahābhārata in the national life of India and in the domain of international scholarship, this vast undertaking and the truly scientific way it is pursued are a credit to Sanskrit scholarship in India and should be a matter of pride to every lover of India.

A. B.-Ś.

A HISTORY OF TIRUPATI VOLUME I.—By Rajasevasakta, Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. Published on behalf of Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanam Committee. Madras. 1940. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. i-vii, 1-487, with 17 illustrations.

The small group of the Tirupati hills included in the cluster of the Venkaṭāchalam hills constitutes an eminent pilgrim shrine in Southern India. The management of the Devasthānam has already done creditable work in bringing out an edition in Devanāgarī script of *Śrī Venkaṭāchala-Itihāsmālā* recording activities in the shrine under Rāmānuja. The present history attempts to trace the history of the temple from its probable foundation about the beginning of the Christian era to the end of the eighteenth century. The sources utilised include the accounts in the Purāṇas e.g., (*Venkaṭāchala-māhātmyam*), the Tamil classical literature or the Sangam works and Sanskrit sources for the period prior to the 8th century, the work of the twelve Vaiṣṇava Ālvārs up to the last years of the 8th century, and for the later period a large number of inscriptions collected by the Devasthānam department of epigraphy.

Dr. S. K. Aiyangar brings to his work devotion as well as erudition and the result is both reliable and readable. The account gives on the whole the bare facts gleaned from the above sources with occasional explanatory notes. Except for the earlier periods where the information is necessarily meagre and of doubtful authority, the narrative is generally convincing.

The volumes of the Cambridge Ancient History dealing with the old countries of the Near East reveal the important rôle played by temples, shrines and religious establishments in the economic, social and political life of the peoples concerned. In India their importance was not less but a scientific interest in their proper study is still very limited. The endeavour of the Tirupati Devasthānam Committee in this direction deserves all commendation. Students of Indian history will await further volumes with interest and expectation of more light on inter-shrine relations and their bearing on the culture of the land.

A. B.-S.

Notes of the Quarter

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's office on Sunday the 11th August, 1940 at 8 a.m.

Present:

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazl Ali (in the Chair).

Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar.

Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on June 17, 1940.

2. Passed the monthly accounts for the months, May and June, 1940.

(b) Passed the revised Budget for the year 1940-41 and Budget Estimate for the year 1941-42.

3. Confirmed payments of the following bills:-

(a) Allahabad Law Journal Press Bill No. 235, dated 3.5.40, printing charges of Journal, March issue, 1940 Rs. 324-7-3

(b) Indian Photo Engraving Co. Bill No. BP/420 dated 8.7.40, for making blocks and printing plates for June issue, 1940, Rs. 135-5.

4. Resolved that the following Journals be put

on the exchange list of the Society:—

(a) Bharatiya Vidya, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Andheri, Bombay.

(b) Bengal Past and Present, a Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society.

5. Read Ref. No. J/10147 dated 1.6.40 from the Manager, Journal of the University of Bombay in connection with the advertisement of Journals on exchange basis.

Resolved that the Society accepts the proposal.

6. Read letter No. 1140-E dated the 20th June, 1940 from the Assistant Secretary to Government of Bihar, Education Department enquiring if a full set of the back issues of the Journal of the Society can be spared for the Provincial Museum, Orissa.

Resolved that a set of the available issues of the Journal can be spared. All expenses for despatch from Patna to Cuttack are to be borne by the Provincial Museum, Orissa.

7. Read Indian History Congress IV Session, Lahore, Circular Letter No. 1.

Resolved to reply wishing the session all success.

8. Read letter No. 141-E.R. dated 25-5-40 from the Deputy Secretary to Government of Bihar, Education Department, para No. 2 in connection with the grant for cataloguing of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Bihar.

Resolved that a statement showing the work done so far and the work to be done be submitted.

9. Read letter dated 30.5.40 from Mrs. K. Rishbeth, Librarian, Haddon Library, Cambridge.

Resolved that her request be acceded to and

a free copy of future issues of the Journal be supplied to the Haddon Library.

10. Read letter dated 23.7.40 from the Director, India Studies Library of Congress, Washington. U. S. A.

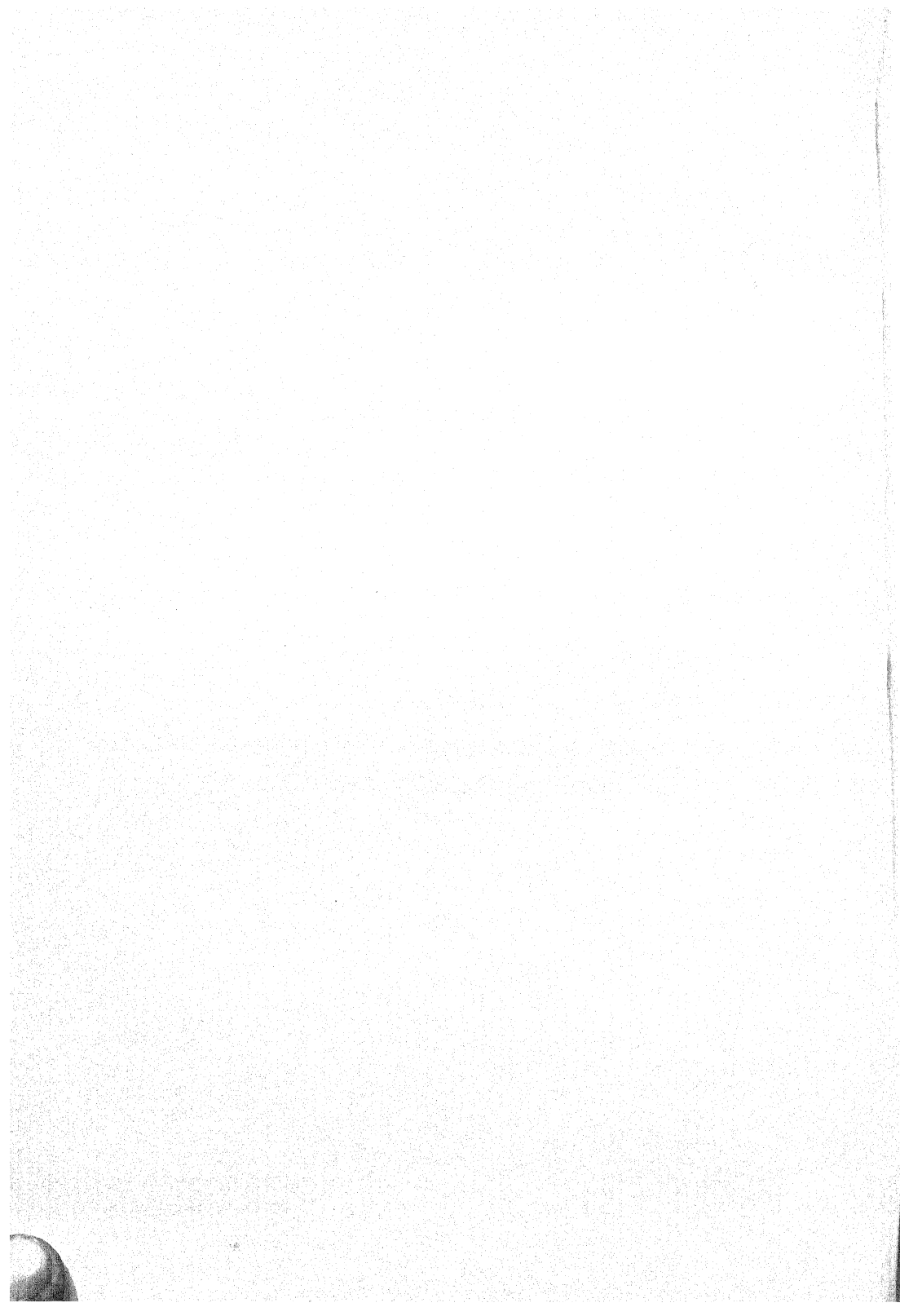
Resolved with regret that a free set cannot be spared but all available issues could be sold at the usual price.

11. Read Mr. Rahula Sankrityayana's letter.

Resolved that Mr. Rahula Sankrityayana could have on loan books from the Society's Library according to the usual rules. In view, however, of his present position, he be requested to submit the application through the local Government.

12. Resolved to write to Messrs. Dharmaman Purnaman at Calcutta asking for a reply to our letter dated 19.6.40 and to enquire whether they would prefer payment at Calcutta for the Tanjur.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI
Honorary General Secretary



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स० त० = संमतितर्क

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प्र० = प्रमेयकल्पद्रुम

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PART IV

Leading Articles

THE GOLCONDA-COURT LETTERS¹

By K. K. BASU

1. *Letter of Shāh Abbās II (of Persia) sent to Abdullāh Qutb Shāh (the sultan of Golconda) through Mirzā Muqim.*²

***³ To Abdullāh Qutb Shāh ***the refuge of the brave and just, generous and valiant *** may he ever remain with honour and glory and may the grace of God ***be with him. (Your) letter (which may be

¹ From Guldestāh (Sir J. N. Sarkar's transcript. Salar Jung MS. Insha no. 2731).

² Regarding the despatch of a plenipotentiary to Persia, the author of *Hādīqat us Salatin* (Sir J. N. Sarkar's transcript) mentions (folio. 195) that, Khairāt Khān, the Sar-i-naubat and Muhammad Quli Beg, son of Qāsim Beg, were sent to Persia as envoys in the fourth regnal year (1038 H.) of Abdullāh Qutb Shāh and that, a Persian envoy reached the court of Golconda in 1044 H. (1634 A. D.).

³ The asterisks indicate the omission of hyperbolical expressions in the text.

regarded as) the branch of the tree in the orchard of love and friendship and a fresh fruit in the tree of amity and co-operation ***to hand. Its contents look like a charming and well-dressed sweet-heart who carries with her the fragrance of co-operation and amity and cheers up her lover.**

Your letter refers to the breach of promise and the wicked manners of the Delhi Court and its supporters. ***It was the bounden duty of the sincere friends and faithful followers of your court that, instead of co-operating with the enemies of the kingdom, who are unfriendly to the Shia Imāms, and deserting you in times of need, they should have stood shoulder to shoulder with you at the time of disorder and disturbance. ***May God punish all your enemies.

Would to God that the time for retaliation soon comes! May you screw your courage to the sticking place. Time is not distant when you will be crowned with success!

Now that the foundation of the empire of the Gurguns has been shaken on account of internal revolution, it is in the interest of your sovereignty that you should turn for an alliance with the 'Ādil Shāhi house ***and strike a bargain with it on old terms, so that, your enemies lose their heart and you may go off well. ***For the achievement of this object you have to adopt a policy that is suitable and proper for the occasion. ***

In order to bear out my sympathy to your cause I have despatched Mīrzā Muqīm, one of my old and trustworthy officers, to your court.***

He will acquaint himself with the true state of affairs and, subsequently, make his return.***

May God reward you with success***

2. *Shāh Jahān's letter to Abdullāh Qutb Shāh*¹

* * * *

To the illustrious and eminent, a descendant of noble grandees, **the chosen among the prosperous royal select, the object of imperial compassion***

Be it known that, the petition that you sent in response to the royal farman through Niyāz Beg and Aziz Beg, the macebearers of your court, to hand. ***I learn that, you are unable to make an annual remittance of heavy tribute in addition to the usual contribution on account of increase of expenditure and decrease of income in your government.

Prince Aurangzeb **had fixed the sum of 25 lacs of *buns* that is equal to 1 crore and 25 lacs of rupees in exchange as your tribute to this court. You had promised that, out of this sum you would send 20 lacs of rupees or a corresponding amount in exchange: you would pay 25 lacs of rupees in three yearly instalments without fail: the balance of 80 lacs of rupees you would remit in cash and valuable jewelleryes.*

In view of your having sent a petition to this court I square up your liability of 20 lacs of rupees or an amount equal in exchange. In consideration

¹ We learn from *Hādiqat us Salatin* (folio 178) that Sheikh Muhi-uddin Pir Zādā of Ujjein came to the court of Abdullāh Qutb Shāh as an ambassador of Shāh Jahān on the 3rd reg. yr. of Abdullāh Qutb Shāh (1037 A. H.) and that, Muhi ud din was given farewell on the 6th reg. year of Abdullāh Qutb Shāh (1040 A. D.)

At the orders of Abdullāh Qutb Shāh, Wafā Khān, alias Yūsuf Shāh accompanied the Mughal envoy on his return

of the alleged hardship and distress, I exempt you from the payment of 25 lacs of rupees which you had promised to remit in three annual instalments. Prince Aurangzeb has recommended for the remission of 10 lacs, but I have increased the amount of remission to 25 lacs. The residue of 80 lacs (the sum of 45 lacs of the total amount of 1 crore and 25 lacs being credited to your account in the aforesaid manner) which has, at present, an exchange value of 1 crore of rupees should be remitted in the following way : rupees 30 lacs should be sent in jewelleries, utensils of gold, and elephants to Prince Aurangzeb at Hyderābād in the month of Rajab: out of the balance of 70 lacs of rupees, 37 lacs which you promised to pay in four monthly instalments and for the realization of which Prince Aurangzeb had sent his officers to your court, has become long overdue; the said sum of 37 lacs in addition to an equal amount of money together making a total of 70 lacs should be paid in jewelleries, ornamented utensils inlaid with diamonds and rubies or cash to Sayyid Ahmad Sa'id, a sincere officer of my court who has been entrusted with the duty of carrying this letter to you, or to Mulla Abdus Samad another trusty official of mine who accompanies Sayyid Ahmad or to some

journey to Shāh Jahān's court at Burhānpur. The envoys left the Golconda court on 7 Rajab 1040 H (30 Jan. 1631) and on the eve of his departure, Muhiuddin was offered a few well-equipped elephants and 30,000 hun as present.

(Hadiqat us Salatin ff. 223, 225)

Shāh 'Ali Beg, Shāh Jahān's envoy came to Golconda with the son of Wafā Khān the deceased Golconda envoy, on 10th Jamadiulawwal (Nov. 1631 A. D.) and was presented with robes of honour, horses and elephants.

other officer. The fixed tribute of 2 lacs of hun corresponding to 8 lacs of rupees according to old rate of exchange or 10 lacs according to the present exchange rate should be annually sent to my court.

The Prince (Aurangzeb) had fixed the sum of 12 lacs and 50 thousand rupees to be paid by you as a present to his son. The amount is to be derived partially from the revenue of Rāmgir fort and its dependencies which amounts to 1 lac hun equivalent to 5 lacs of rupees. In response to your application I exempt you from the payment of the balance of 7 lacs and 50 thousand rupees out of the aforesaid sum of 12 lacs and 50 thousand rupees.

It appears from the application sent by you to Khān-i-Jahān¹ that you had agreed in a bond of obligation to pay 5 lacs of rupees in cash and to remit 1 lac annually and four well-equipped elephants. Khān-i-Jahān, however, entertained an apprehension that the proposed terms would not be accepted by me, hence, he gave no consent to your proposal and made a return of the said note of hand to you. You need not send me the promised cash and the elephants. Express your gratitude to God for the clemency that has been shown to you***

***Mu'azzam Khān had an audience with me on the 25th Ramzān. He has been made the recipient of royal beneficence and conferred with the vizirate of Delhi. The mansab of six thousand *ḡāt* and six thousand horse has been bestowed upon him. In

¹Khān Jahān, Prince Shujā and Muzaffar Khān were sent in 1044 H. (1634 A. D.) to extend Mughal territories on the South. Hādiqat-us-Salatīn folio. 369.

addition to the foregoing distinction he has received a special robe of honour, an ornamented sword and ink-stand, 5 lacs of rupees in cash, 200 horses and 10 elephants. His dignity is on the increase day by day.

***An useful and experienced official is rare these days, especially a man of the type of Mu'azzam Khān, who can hold candle to any able and skilful vizir of my court. His merit should, therefore, be recognised. There is no dearth of malicious and selfish officials who do not look to the interest of the state but of their own. It is improper to pay heed to the advice of such people who turn the well-wishers of the court into its enemies. Every one should look to the interests of his own children and his own honour!

You have, in your letter to Abdus Samad, lodged a complaint against the said Khān (Mu'azzam). You state that, the Khān had given you his word of honour about the payment of 4 lacs of hun equivalent to 20 lacs of rupees, and in lieu of it he gave his consent to the realization of revenue to be made by you on his behalf from his jagirs at Ellore and Rajmandri: that, contrary to his pledge, the Khān had placed his men at Ellore, Rajmandri and countries situated to the other side of river at Murtazanagar for the collection of revenue and that he had not made a payment of the promised amount to you: that, under the circumstances, you want to send your own officials to the above-mentioned countries for the realization of revenue.

In reply to the petition that you have sent, I

have to state that, the Khān has been ordered to call back his officers from his jagirs and the fort of Udgir and its dependencies, for the reason that, it has long remained under your control. But the other mahals and forts of Karnatak that you had made over to the Khān ***should remain with him as he had remitted to you the revenues of those places and spent a large amount for the upkeep of the forts. I also confer the ownership of the diamond mines of Karnatak on the Khān, who has made a present of a big diamond weighing 9 *tang* to me. You should, therefore, give up the claim of ownership over Karnatak and its mines. In case of any transgression of my orders on your part, Muhammad Amin Khān, an experienced official of my court, will be despatched at the head of a large army to look after the jagirs of his father and to secure peace and tranquillity for its inhabitants against the oppression of the infidels of Karnatak. Further, Amin Khān would be rewarded with those countries that he would be able to secure forcibly from the unbelievers.

I now favour you with the despatch of a special robe of honour and a big diamond that was ever kept on my turban through Abdus Samad. I am also sending you a ring of ruby and sapphire that is valued at one lac and 25 thousand rupees, and purchased by Prince Aurangzeb for 12,000 huns corresponding to 60,000 rupees.***

3. *Shāh Jahān's farman to Abdullāh Qutb Shāh sent through Sheikh Abdul Latif*

***To Qutb ul Mulk who has been gloried and

honoured by royal attention and kindness

be it known that, your petition¹ ***has been seen and accepted by me, and that the piece of diamond sent by you as a present through ****Jumla ul mulki* Allami Sād ul lāh Khān has reached the court.

that, whenever the imperial banner reached Burhānpur and Daulatābād you paid, in keeping with the convention of your predecessor, presents in cash. In view of this custom, it is now ordered that, you should remit one half of the annual revenue of 8 lacs of rupees in cash and the other half in elephants of both sexes, best in quality. The price that you would fix for the elephants would be accepted and this custom would remain in force for future observance. In case of any breach of faith, the contract would be cancelled and you have to pay the whole amount in cash.

Secondly, that Abdul Latif, an official of my court, will be proceeding to secure, as per my desire, Masulipattam chintz and it is now ordered that, you should supply my official with 2000 hun and a few best manufacturers of chintz when he reaches mouza Kahror.***

That, the demanded amount should be correctly entered in a list and carefully audited and the amount should be adjusted from the beginning of the month of Āzur² of the 27th regnal year to the end of Aban³

¹ We learn from Hādiqat us Salatin (f. 400) that Abdullāh Qutb Shāh sent his ambassador Mulla Taqi Shirāzi in mid Shaban 1045 (mid. Jan. 1636 A. D.) to Shāh Jahān at Daulatābād with presents consisting of elephants and other choicest things.

² The ninth solar month.

³ Name of the eighth month of the Persian year.

of the 28th regnal year.***

That, by way of favour a special robe of honour is being sent to you through the aforesaid Abdul Latif.*** This day the 14th Rajab, 28th regnal year corresponding to 1064 H. (21 May 1654).

4. *Letter of Shāh Jahān to Abdullāh Qutb Shāh*

I am duly informed of your representation and the request of Abdul Latif. I am glad to learn about your acts of obedience and, as an act of compassion, I issue this farman which may be considered as an 'abd-nama or articles of peace. This letter of agreement is indissoluble and it is as durable as the Alexandrian wall. Let it be known that, if you do not deviate from the terms of the contract you will not be deprived of royal compassion and favour. Be it noted that, you will bid farewell to Abdul Latif¹ on the day of 'Id-i-Qurbān with customary presents as mentioned in this farman.

5. *Farman of Shāh Jahān issued to Abdullāh Qutb Shāh*

To ***Qutb ul Mulk who has been favoured with excessive imperial favour

be it known that, the petitions which you have often sent to this court have been noted by me. It appears from the contents of your representation and the recommendations made by Abdul Latif that you have carried out the orders of my court and caused the *Khutba*² to be read in the Jami mosque at Gol-

¹ The author of *Hādiqat us Salatin* mentions (folio 401) that Abdul Latif reached Golconda on 8 Ramzan 1045 H. (5th Feb. 1636 A. D.)

² According to *Hādiqat us Salatin* (f. 412) the *Khutba* was

conda in the names of the four caliphs and the Emperor (meaning himself) on Thursday, the 22nd Farwardin,¹ and that, you have likewise caused coins to be struck (with names of Caliphs and the Emperor on them).

(I learn) that, you have further promised, in agreement with my order, to send tributes to my treasury through my aforesaid trustworthy official Abdul Latif: that, you have agreed to send without any excuse the annual tribute of 2 lacs of hun *seorahi* equivalent to 8 lacs of rupees and have promised by thought and action to be hostile to the enemy of the empire.

You have put up a prayer that, after the return of the Prince to the capital you would give up your claims on the frontiers and settle the question concerning the Mughal suba and the frontiers by making a negotiation with the Prince.

You have preferred a request that, I should order the Prince to take interest in your affairs, so that, the Bijāpuris are prevented from doing any harm to you and, if necessity arises, a strong army should be despatched in your help.

You have begged hard that, you should be allowed to remit the stipulated annual payment of 2 lacs of hun that you have to pay to the royal treasury to the Prince for meeting the expenses of the suba, so that, it might serve as an inducement to the Prince for giving a thought to your affairs.

read on the 11th reg. year of Abdullāh Qutb Shāh (1045 H. or 1635 A. D.).

¹ The Persian month, March 21 to April 19.

You prefer a petition that, if the Bijāpuri army appeared in your country the Prince, should when called for, send you his aid, and that if the Prince refused his help you would be permitted to send a report of the affairs direct to the court and be exempted from the remittance of 2 lacs of huns to the Prince.

Lastly, you urge that, out of 32 lacs of rupees that you, in response to my old order, have to pay to the royal court in cash and kind through Abdul Latif, 8 lacs should be written off and the balance along with the tribute of two lacs of huns should be paid to the court in future.

In view of the representation thus made and in reward of your sincere and faithful services, I agree to your terms provided you set aside the old practice of reading the *Khutba* and have it read in the names of the four Caliphs, who are the pillars of religion, and of the Emperor (meaning himself), as well as, have the coins struck with the names of the four Imāms and the Emperor on it.

You are permitted to remit 2 lacs *huns Seorahi* equal to 8 lacs of rupees in exchange that you had been sending annually to my court since the beginning of my rule to the Prince incharge of the subah or in his absence to any of his agents towards the expenses of his assignment: you should, in agreement to the covenant, take your oath by the Qu'rān in the presence of Abdul Latif that you would remain on friendly terms with me and put your seal and signature on the terms of the contract.

The tribute of 32 lacs that is due from you should

be paid thus: 24 lacs should be remitted immediately to Abdul Latif in diamonds best in quality. You own diamond mines and, consequently, you possess unique diamonds. Besides the diamonds, the said tribute should consist of best sapphires, 100 elephants 50 of which should be of different quality, big, middle-sized and small, some that are renowned, without any fault and beautiful, and the other 50 should be females: the stipulated sum of 8 lacs and an additional tribute of 8 lacs should be sent to the royal treasury (at Delhi).

You are further informed that, your prayers have been granted and the territory that you now possess would remain under your successors; that, no trouble would be caused by the royal army in your country. I have ordered that, in case the Bijā-puri force attacks your country, the Prince who remains in charge of the Deccan subā or the nobles will send help to you and save your country from all injury. A separate farman to this effect is enclosed herewith.***

It appears, that 'Ādil Khān (of Bijāpur) is likely to hold out his right hand of fellowship to Nizāmul Mulk. Both are likely to create mischief in your land.

I now order that, no further imposition of tribute other than the stipulated sum of 2 lacs will be made on you, and you are exempted from the payment of supplementary grants. The terms of the contract will remain in force till future generations and will never be revoked. It is for giving you an assurance that this farman which is, in reality an *abad-nāmā* has

been impressed with the royal *panjāb*.¹ It is necessary that you should glory in and take pride over this happy tidings, and try to maintain the terms to the best of your ability, and thereby, live in contentment and peace to the end of your long life and sovereignty. This day the *urdi bibisbt*² of the Illāhi year.

6. *Aurangzeb's letter to Abdullāh Qutb Shāh*

To Abdullāh Qutb Shāh the prominent well-wisher of the empire and of sincere heart,***

Read through this letter and send in your reply whatever you think best for the occasion. Know that you are the recipient of increasing imperial compassion!*****

Be it known that, the death of (Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh) one of the *amicus curiās* of the heaven-exalted (Mughal) court has made a deep impression on my mind. An inevitable incident like this comes off in the case of all alike, be he a noble or a commoner, rich or poor. May God show His mercy to the deceased! To the intelligent this evanescent world is an object lesson!

* * * *

It transpires that, the deceased has left behind him a son who should be his successor. But the activities of Khān Muhammad and the party that has made its appearance at Bijāpur interfere with the boy's acces-

¹ The author of *Hādiqat us Salatin* writes (f. 412) that this *abadnama* of Shāh Jahān reached the court of Golconda on 2 Zilhijjah 1045 H. (the 11th regnal year of Abdullāh Qutb Shāh).

² The second Persian month.

sion. The shortsighted Khan Muhammad and his party are, after all, engaged in ploughing the sands! How can their purpose be served without the consent of the Emperor!

You should, under the circumstances, give thought to the matter and inform the court without least delay on the exigencies of the times. After all, the despatch of an imperial army to Bijāpur is impracticable. It appears from the petition of the vakil of the court that, you intend sending out an army to Bijāpur under Jumla ul Mamalik Mu'azzam Khān and marching out personally in the wake of the said force. You should without delay put in your best efforts in the matter. You are aware from the communication made by Ahmad Beg that you are the recipient of fresh and ever increasing royal favour and clemency. Play the game and be loyal and sincere. My compliments to you.**

7. *Farman of Alamgir Bādsbāh to Abdullāh Qutb Shāh*

To Qutb ul Mulk who has been honoured and gloried by Imperial compassion.***

Be it known that, ***Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam has been appointed subedar of the Deccan.

In reply to your supplication that you would remain obedient to the court and remit without fail the stipulated annual tribute, I issue this order. You should be submissive to the heaven-exalted court that provides security and tranquillity, and should for purposes of personal safety and well-being** put on the cloak of obedience and sincerity: you should

look upon the payments of tribute as a matter of dignity and glory, and fortune as the fruit of the tree of good actions.***I despatch a robe of honour as a mark of increased dignity of your court. May you express your gratitude for the favour thus shown to you. ***this day the 24th Zilka'ad 1074 H. (8 June, 1664)¹.

8. *Letter of Alamgir to Abdullāh Qutb Shāh*

To (Abdullāh Qutb) the star of fortune***

In obedience to the royal mandate ***you should send to the court the son of Muhammad Sayyid and his family. Do not detain the messengers who are carrying this farman for more than three days. Consider this as urgent! Peace be on him who follows the right path!

9. *Letter of Alamgir before his accession to the throne to Abdullāh Qutb Shāh*

To Abdullāh Qutb Shāh **who has been favoured with excessive royal kindness

Be it known that, the Exalted Highness **the protector of religion **(meaning Shāh Jahān) has been pleased to include Mir Muhammad Sayyid in the body of slaves attached to the court, the refuge of kings, ***and has conferred on him the mansab of 5000 Zat and 5000 horse.

The Emperor desires that **the said Mir Muhammad, his son and attendants should be sent to the imperial court. ***But it transpires from the appli-

¹ Should be one year earlier=20th June 1663 A. D.

cation made by Abdul Latif that, you have thoughtlessly ***arrested Mir Muhammad Amin, son of the aforesaid Mir, ** and put him and his family in the fort of Golconda and have confiscated all his property.***

This high-handed action of yours is against all principles of fidelity.*** Under the circumstances, you should, on receipt of this order and without delay, release the son of Mir Muhammad Sayyid and his relatives and give them back their properties such as, cash, jewels and elephants. Mir Muhammad should be sent to this court in company of Mir Abdul Qāsim and Sayyid 'Alī who have been entrusted with the duty of carrying this farman to you.***

In case of non-compliance, Prince Muhammad Sultan will proceed to Golconda with a big army for giving you a dressing.*** It is hoped that, you will see things with your eyes open and that you will be obedient and not refractory. Remember, God shows him the right way who seeks it! The royal favour and mercy is ever on you. This day the 2nd Rabiul awwal, the 29th regnal year of the Emperor. (20 December 1655 A. D.)

10. *Letter of Prince Alamgir to Abdullāh Qutb Shāh*

***Be it known that, your petition and the diamond-ring sent through Ibrāhim Beg have reached the court. ***It is hoped that, you will, in like manner, display your fidelity to the court and thereby enhance the dignity and honour of your family.

You are further informed that, Srirang Rayal, the landed proprietor of Karnatak, has sent to the

court a Brahman envoy begging protection and promising tribute.

His Majesty (Shāh Jahān) now desires that, Muhammad Momin, a trusted officer of the court, should proceed to Karnatak for effecting a settlement with Srirang. The principles of obedience and sincerity now demand that, you should appoint convoys for my said official when he takes a journey through your country: you should send orders to your fouzgars on this matter and make them keep a sharp look out.***

11. *Farman of Emperor Alamgir to Abdullāh Qutb Shāh on the occasion of the birth of a prince*

your letter of congratulation on the birth of a prince to hand. The letter has occasioned the conferment of excessive royal mercy and favour on its writer. ***May you be prosperous and happy!***

As the affairs at Bālāghāt claim precedence over those of Pāyānghāt, I leave Burhānpur for Aurangābād.***

I send for you, as a token of favour, a robe of honour through Mulla Farjullah. It is hoped that, you will in return of the kindness shown to you clear the mirror of your heart of the dust of misunderstanding and suspicion, and consider yourself to be a recipient of excessive royal mercy.***

12. *Letter of Sultan Mubammad to Abdullāh Qutb Shāh on the subject of Mu'azzam Khān's arrest and other matters*

To Qutb ul Mulk ***the object of royal clemency

This is to inform you that, at this auspicious moment Aurangābād, the city of fortunate foundation, has been illuminated by the advent of imperial banner*** and Mu'azzam Khān has been honoured with an interview (with Aurangzeb) and a service on Wednesday, the 4th Rabi'us Sani. The said Khān is desirous of a royal farman being issued demanding his recall from your court and he further intends to collect materials of war and to march out with a big army against Bijāpur and Golconda. But as the Emperor feels for you and wishes to confer a benefit on you, the Khān could do you no ill office. The advice that he gave to the Emperor was of no avail. On the contrary, the Khān has been put under arrest. Bearing in mind that this action of Aurangzeb is a sign of royal sympathy that he cherishes for Bijāpur and Golconda you should display your own good wishes for the Emperor.

It should, further, be noted that the country and fort of Karnatak which belonged to the said Khān have been confiscated by you. It is now considered that, you should order your officers who are placed on the frontiers not to interfere with the affairs of Karnatak and Rakchuki.***

***Remain steady on the road of sincerity and fidelity and regard me as your well-wisher. Do not allow the *gumastas* or the commissaries of Mu'azzam Khān to scrape acquaintance with Mir Ahmad Khān: they might win him over to their side. My respects to you!

13. *The Letter of Prince Sultan Muhammad to the mother of Abdullāh Qutb Shāh on the death of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh*

To the adorning of the bed-chamber of royalty and pomp.

May you look upon me as your near relation! I could not write you a letter on account of recent turn of events. Hope you will forgive and forget!

You are informed that, two of your letters have reached me and I am glad to note their contents that display sincerity and fidelity. My reply to your letters are to be found in my communication to your son, Abdullāh Qutb.

(Further) I beg to state that, the information about the sad demise of (Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh) the refuge of justice and equity, who had obtained distinction for his sincerity and good behaviour among the true well-wishers of heaven-exalted court, has reached me and caused me a heaviness of heart. May God, The Merciful, show compassion to the deceased, and keep those who are in the land of living free from misfortune! How can any human being who is a tool in the hands of Fate escape such bereavements? It behoves that you should under the circumstances calm down and resign yourself to the decree of God.

Remember, that you always have my sympathy and special favours.

14. *Letter of Prince Sultan Mubammad to Abdullāh Qutb Shāh*

* * * *

Be it known that, your friendly letters displaying loyalty and fidelity and expressing congratulations on our victories duly to hand.

The evil-fated Dārā has now taken himself off to Lahore and the Emperor has moved off to the same direction in pursuit of the maleficent fugitive and with a view to putting the administration of the suba Punjab in a ship-shape condition. Having failed to make a stand against the Imperialists the said vagabond has, further, packed off to.....¹ The true spiritual guide (meaning Aurangzeb) has, therefore, despatched an army in the wake of the tramp and adopted measures for the proper administration of the Suba (Punjab). He is now expected to return to the capital city, Akbarābād (Agra). It is desired that, you should, in agreement to the order that has already been made, remit presents on the occasion of the august ceremony. This day the 4th Safar, 1069 H.

15. *Letter of Prince Sultan Mubammad to Abdullāh Qutb Shāh*

(To Abdullāh Qutb Shāh), the celebrated and illustrious***

Be it known that, whatever is expressed in language and action is in payment of the debt of gratitude (to the Emperor). It is necessary that, you should

¹ The MS. is here blank.

regard the payment of taxes as accretions to your fortune, and you should not at the advice of madmen set aside the obligations of a vassal.*** you should remember that, by your obedience and submission you can acquire excessive attention and favour.

If you are thankful, I am benevolent, but if you are ungrateful I am malevolent!

16. *Letter of Sultan Muḥammad to Abdullāh Qutb Shāh*

To Abdullāh Qutb Shāh, the refuge of authority, ***descendant of illustrious house**, the best among the humble servants and the object of royal mercy***

Be it known that, Aurangzeb has by the Grace of God secured a victory at this auspicious moment***

We cannot adequately express our gratitude to the Almighty (for the victory that he has conferred on us). According to the injunctions in the Qu'rān, "you should be grateful to God for His kindness," we must tender our thanks to Him.

As the vain-glorious Jaswant Singh and his infinite army had encamped themselves at a distance of two kuroh from the Mughal forces and encircled the latter, the *Pir* and *Murshid Haqiqi* or the perfect religious mentor (i.e. Aurangzeb) sent an army to oppose the progress of the enemies on Friday, the 20th Rajab.

* * * *

Learning that the said Jaswant was advancing towards me, I ordered Murshid Qulī Khān, the officer in charge of royal artillery, to open fire against the enemies.***

VERSE

By the noise of the cannons and muskets
 Every corner of the battle field reverberated:
 The smoke of the cannons covered the sky.
 The artilleries emitted volleys of death!
 The discharged *badlij*¹ put forth fire
 And burnt the heart of the enemy by its heat.
 The volleys of poisonous arrows
 Appeared as messengers of death!

17. *Letter of Sultan Mubammad to Abdullāh Qutb Shāh's mother on the death of Mubammad 'Adil Shāh (of Bijāpur)*

A repetition of letter No. 13.

18. *Letter of Prince Sultan Mubammad to Abdullāh Qutb Shāh*

Same as No. 14.

19. *Letter of Prince Sultan Mubammad to Abdullāh Qutb Shāh*

Same as no. 15.

20. *Letter of Prince Sultan Mubammad to Abdullāh Qutb Shāh*

Same as no. 16.

But the following matter is not to be found in letter no. 16.

* * * *

As a result of constant firing, the wicked enemies could not stick to their guns, and having collected

¹ A kind of gun.

themselves with a view to entering the field of death made a dash at me. A furious and mortal conflict now ensued. ***I led my elephant, on which I was seated, towards Khān-i-Jahān Bāhādur, the commander-in-chief, for his relief. The Rajput adversaries recognised me and assaulted my elephant with arrows. At this turn of events, I grew furious and my ancestral blood began to boil in me. I turned against my enemies with heart and soul. I began discharging volleys of arrows which by the Grace of God cut through the bodies of the antagonists, armoured clad or unprotected with any coverings. They were unseated of their horses and sent to the hell of destruction!

Ratan Singh,*** and many others were sent to hell.*** Finding that a large number of Rajputs chiefs had been put to death at the hands of the hostile native artillery men, Jaswant Singh became perturbed and, at last, he made his escape from the battle-field along with Ghāzi Khān, the *daroga-i-top-kehānā*, Sujan Singh Bundelah and Rāj Singh. Some seven thousand soldiers of Jaswant Singh lay dead in the battle field, and his artillery, treasure and elephants were seized by us.***

In award of the bravery shown, Aurangzeb has conferred on me the title of "Bāhādur", and the mansab of 15,000 zat and 12,000 horse.

It is believed that you should, on your part, offer thanksgiving to God for the victory, and commemorate the occasion by holding festivities and amusements: that you should be sincere and friendly in thought and action,***

Remember that my sympathy is with you, and be you ever remain steady in paying homage and obedience.***

6th Sh'aban, 1068 H. (29 April, 1658 A.D.)

21. *Letter of Prince Sultan Dārā Shikoh to Abdullāh Qutb Shāh.*

To (Abdullāh Qutb Shāh)** the noble pole star of the heaven, the centre of the orbit of empire, ***the object of divine mercy,*** unparalleled in obedience.***

Be it known that, Mulla Abdus Samad, had an audience (with the Emperor) on Monday, the 27th Jamadi us sani¹ (12th April 1656) and that the three letters that he carried with him he gave to their addressees, viz., His Exalted Highness the Emperor, my own self and the great, noble and illustrious sister (of Qutb Shāh). His Majesty, (I beg leave to say), has personally gone through all the three aforesaid letters. The Emperor who is compassionate to you for your sincere attachment, being much impressed with the contents of the letters, expressed his benevolence and kindness. He has caused a farman to be sent to Shayista Khān for his recall to the court.

Be it also known that, the Emperor was not at all inclined to the siege of Golconda,*** he was, rather, in favour of putting under arrest Mir Muhammad Sayyid and despatching him to the court. Before the arrival of your application to the

¹ The date given is wrong. It should be 27 Jamadiul-awwal—13th March.

court the Emperor had issued orders in your favour. His Majesty had, (in his letter to) the Prince (Aurangzeb) and Shāyistā Khān expressed that, he was friendly and sympathetic towards you and he could not go against the terms of *abad nama* that had been sent to you; under the circumstances they (the Prince and Shāyistā Khān) should raise the siege of Golconda. Mullah Abdus Samad will testify to the excessive and unfailing solicitude that I entertain for you: the fellow-feeling that I cherish for you will be further manifested when the Mughal forces give up the siege of Golconda. Had you informed me about the course of events earlier, matters would not have (I am sure) taken so serious a turn!

After all, may you rest assured of the favour and mercy of the Emperor, in dignity a Sulaiman and in pomp an Alexander, and may you remain more steady on the road of sincerity and obedience!*** (This day) the 2nd Jamadius sani***¹

22. *Letter to Abdullāh Qutb Shāh*²

(To Abdullāh Qutb Shāh) the possessor of pomp and dignity, of noble descent, generous and just,** the purest and best scion in the noble family***.

Be it known that, Sayyid Abdullāh, the prosperous and blessed, in company with Mir Abdul Qāsim had an audience with the Emperor, and your letter (which he carried) expressive of your sincerity and good-wishes** was placed before His Majesty***

¹ There has been an omission of the year, which is 1068 H. 2nd Jamadi-us-sani 1068 H.=18 March 1656 A. D.

² There is a lacuna in the MS. The name of the writer has been omitted.

It goes without saying that, the essence of the fortunate family (meaning Abdullāh Qutb Shāh) was till recently short of uprightness in word and action and dependence (on the Emperor) and his present conduct was at variance with his old manners which had secured for itself royal favours at the auspicious time when the Emperor would encamp at Burhānpur.

Your writing that is expressive of fidelity and the statement made by your agent (Sayyid Abdullāh)*** laid bare your heart (and removed all suspicions).

Sayyid Abdullāh, your faithful and dutiful official, has narrated the real state of affairs and has, thereby, established fraternity and amity in place of doubt and misunderstanding.

* * * *

Anyhow, the victorious imperial forces under the *Pir* and *Murshid* (i.e. Aurangzeb) is to set out at the orders of His Majesty for the siege of Qandhār that has been conquered by the rebellious tribes (Persians?) who by their own vain and foolish actions have invited self-destruction!

* * * *

May you ever remain expectant of royal favour and patronage and secure the imperial compassion by carrying out the mandates.

* * * *

As a token of royal favour, a robe of honour and a special sword is being sent to you per Mir Ismā'il, an old official of the court. It is expected that you would not detain this agent of mine at your court for more than four days.

This day 5th Zikā'ad *** (31st October 1649 A. D.)

23. *Bond of Abdullāh Qutb Shāh to Aurangzeb*

I, your most devoted servant and a submissive disciple of the court, the refuge of kings, take upon myself the under-mentioned terms, so that, my faults may be condoned and I may be favoured with my ancestral territories and glorious titles of honour that are now in possession of Nawab 'Alī Hazrat. I agree to observe the terms mentioned below and promise to remain obedient and sincere to Your Majesty.

Firstly, for the glorification of my ownself and the attainments of dignity I agree to marry my daughter to Prince Muhammad Sultan, the sapling in the garden of sovereignty and the favourite of Fortune,** The said Prince will succeed to the throne of Golconda after my demise.

Secondly, in lieu of the payment of the stipulated tribute of $2\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of *hūn* I agree to cede the fort of Rāmgir and its dependencies. If the ceded territories fail to yield the aforesaid amount the balance will be made up by me.

(Thirdly), I promise to remit 20 lacs of *hūn* in cash and kind as *naẓar* (present).

* * * *

(Fourthly), I agree to send to the Mughal Court a contingent of 5000 horse on demand.

In conclusion, I put a prayer that, I might be favoured as of old with compassion and mercy and be saved and protected from injury at the hands of the

people of the vicinity and if necessity arises, I might be helped with a Mughal contingent in the work of suppressing the malefactors and the insurgents of my country.

May I hope that you would be pleased to put the impression of the royal seal and *panjah* and your own signature on this letter of agreement.

KURKIHAR BRONZE INSCRIPTIONS

By A. BANERJI-SASTRI

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON KURKIHARA

Yuan Chwang gives the following account:—

“From the *Bodhi-drūm* Hiouen Thsang crossed the river *Nairanjana*, and visited a stūpa named Gandha-hasti, or the “Scented Elephant”, near which there was a tank and a stone pillar.¹ The ruins of the stūpa and the lower portion of the shaft of the pillar still exist at Bakror, on the eastern bank of the Lilāsan river, about one mile to the south-east of Bauddha-Gaya.

Travelling eastward, the pilgrim crossed the river *Mo. ho* or *Mohana Nadi*, and entered a large forest, where he saw another stone pillar. Then proceeding to the north-east for 100 *li*, or nearly 17 miles, he reached the mountain of *kin-piu-cha-po-tho* or *kukkut-pada* “or cock’s-foot”, which was remarkable for three bold peaks. According to Fa Hian’s account, the Hill of the Cock’s-foot was 3 *li*, or half a mile, to the south of the holy tree of Bauddha-Gaya. For 3 *li* we should no doubt read 3 *yojanas*, or 21 miles, which agrees very closely with Hiouen Thsang’s distance of 17 miles, plus two miles for the crossing of the two rivers, or altogether nineteen miles. I have already

¹ Julien’s ‘Hiouen Thsang’, iii, 1. See Map No. XII.

identified this place with the present *Kurkihâr*, which, though omitted in the maps, is perhaps the latest place between the cities of Gaya and Bihâr. It is situated 3 miles to the north-east of Vazirganj, 16 miles to the north-east of Bauddha-Gaya¹. The true name of *kurkihâr* is said to be *kurak-vihâr*, which I believe to be only a contracted form of *kukkutapada-Vihâr* or "Cock's-foot Temple", as the Sanskrit *kukkûta* is the same word as the Hindi *kukkar*, or *kurak*, a "cock". The present *kurkihâr* therefore corresponds both in name and in position with the famous "Cock's-foot Hill" of the Buddhists. There is, however, no *three-peaked hill* in its neighbourhood; but about half a mile to the north of the village three rugged hills rise boldly out of the plain, which, as they stand so close together that their bases meet, may fairly be identified with the three peaked hill of Hiouen Thsang. This identification is confirmed by the presence of several ruined mounds, in which numerous Buddhist statues and votive stûpas have been found."

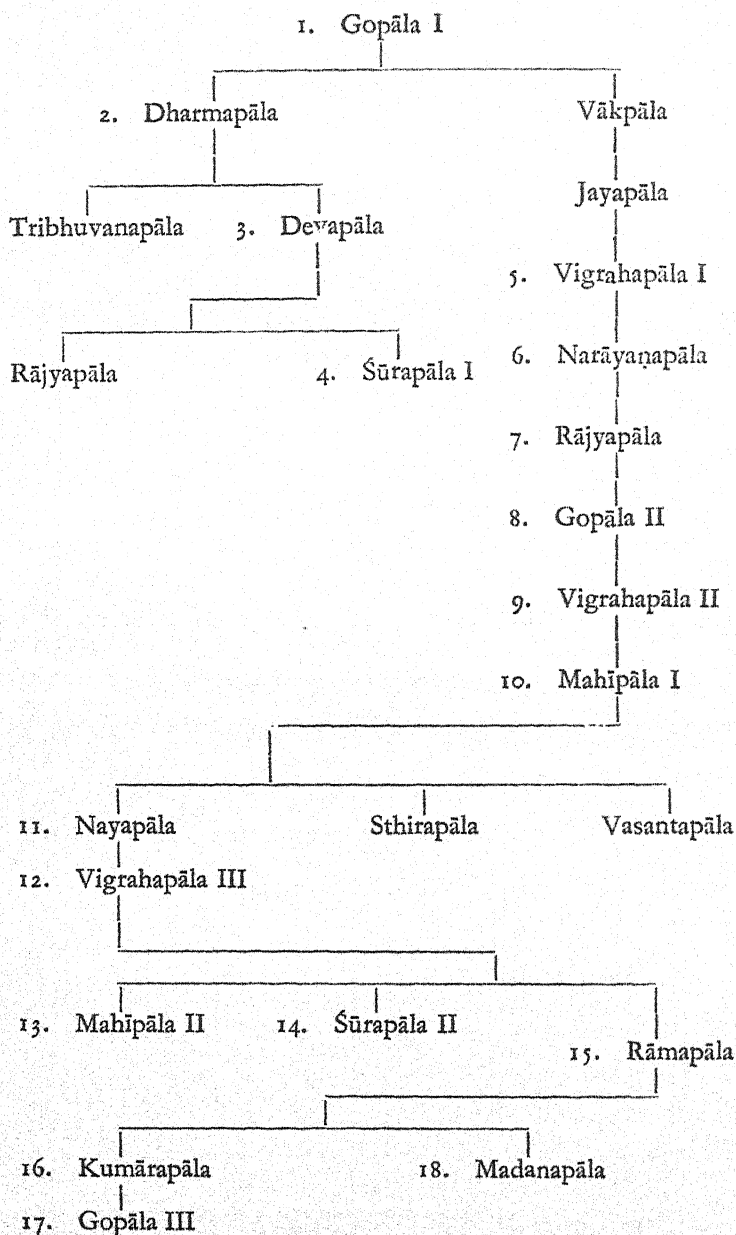
¹ Julien's 'Hiouen Thsang', iii, 6. See Map No. XII.

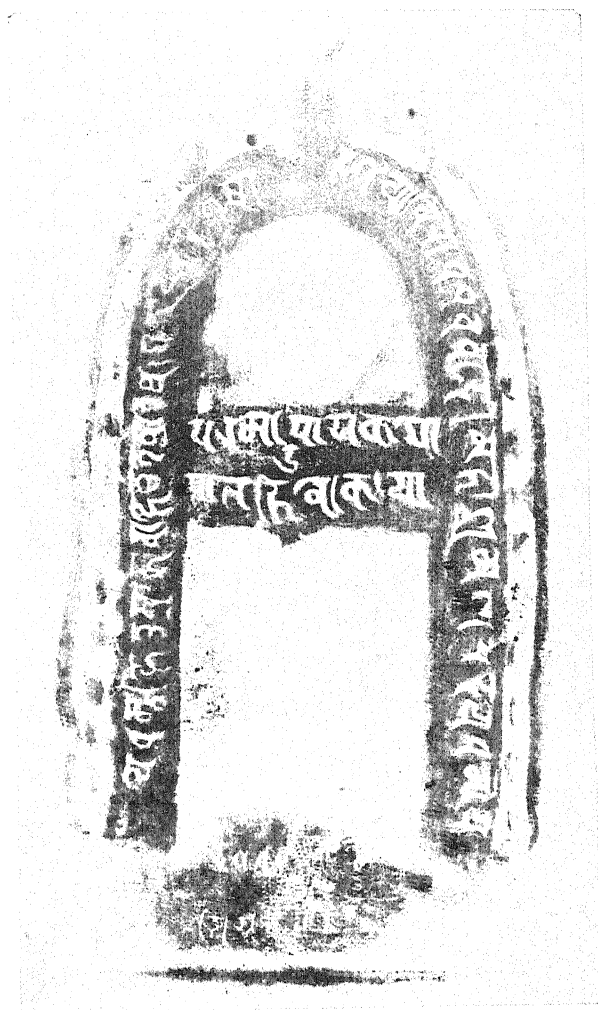
CHRONOLOGY OF THE PĀLA KINGS

1. Gopāla (775-785).
2. Dharmapāla (785-830).
3. Devapāla (830-865).¹
4. Śūrapāla I (865-875).
5. Vighrapāla I (875-900).
6. Narāyaṇapāla (900-925).
7. Rājyapāla (925-950).
8. Gopāla II (950-970).
9. Vighrapāla II (970-980).
10. Mahipala I (980-1036).
11. Nayapāla (1036-1053).
12. Vighrapāla III (1053-1068).
13. Mahipāla II (1068-1078).
14. Śūrapāla II (1078-1091).
15. Rāmapāla (1091-1103).
16. Kumārapāla (1103-1110).
17. Gopāla III (1110-1115).
18. Madanapāla (1115-1130).
19. Mahendrapāla (1130-1140).
20. Govindapāla (1140-1161).

¹ Hilsa Stone Inscription dated the 31st year of Devapāla-deva—J.B.O.R.S., 1929, p.37.

GENEALOGY OF THE PĀLA KINGS





Of the female devotee Pātahinokā (XI Century)



SOME IMPORTANT INSCRIPTIONS OF THE
PĀLA DYNASTY OF BENGAL

From 840 A. D.

1. Gopāla I.
2. Dharmapāla, son of (1).
3. Devapāla, nephew of (2), but represented as his son in the Mongyr copper plate issued by him in the year 33—C.A.S.R. iii, 114, 120, J. B. A. XVII, 492 (undated inscription from Ghosrawa). I.A. XXI, 253.¹
4. Vighrapāla I or Sūrapala, nephew of (3), married Lajjā, a Haihaya princess—I.A. XXI, 99, E.I. ii, 161.
5. Nārāyaṇapāla, son of (4), issued the Bhagalpur plate in the 17th year of his reign—C.A.S.R. iii, 117 and E.I. ii, 160 (Badāl pillar inscription); 121 (Gaya inscription of 7th year). IA. XV, 304, (Bhagalpur plate).
6. Rājyapāla, son of (5), married Bhāgyadevī, a daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Ṭuṅga, possibly Jagat-tuṅga.—IA. XXI, 99.
7. Gopāla II, son of (6)—IA. XXI, 99.
8. Vighrapāla II, son of (7).

From 1026 A. D.

9. Mahīpāla, son of (8).
10. Nānyapāla, son of (9). A Bengal MS. of Pañ-carakṣā is dated in his 14th year and a Gaya inscrip-

¹ Hilsa Stone Inscription dated the 31st year of Devapāla-deva, J.B.O.R.S., 1929, p. 37.

- tion in his 15th year.—Bendall B.S.M., Int. iii and p. 175, C.A.S.R. iii, 123, and Pl. XXXVII.
11. Vighrahapāladeva III, son of (10).
 12. Rāmapāla, son of (11)—CASR. iii, 124, (inscriptions from Bihar of the year (2); ib. XI, 169 Chandiman inscription of the year 12).
 13. Kumārapāla, son of (12), mentioned in the copper plate of his minister Vaidyadeva, king of Kāmārūpa, issued possibly A. D. 1142—EI. ii, 347.
- Mahendrapāla.—CASR. i, 4 (Rām gayā inscription of the year 8); ib. iii, 123, 124; XI, 181, XV, 154. J.B.A. XVI, 278, (Gunariya inscription of the year 9); XVII, pt. 1,234 (inscription of the 19th year).
- Madanapāla—CASR. iii, 124, (Bihar Hill inscription of the year 3); ib. 125 (Jajnagar inscription of the year 19); XI, 181; ib. XIX, 30 (Bajinath inscription of the year 9). IA. XIV, 99.

From 1161 A. D.

Govindapāla—Indradyumna according to tradition the last Pāla king of Bengal.¹

INCIDENTS OF PĀLA HISTORY

C. A. D. 730-40

1. Gopāla (elected king of Bengal).
2. Dharmapāla dethroned Indrāyudha the king of Pañcāla, soon after 800 A. D. held his court in about 810 A. D. at Pataliputra.

¹ C. Mabel Duff: *The Chronology of India*, 1899.

3. Devapāla (reigned for about 48 years). During the latter part of the 10th century, the Pāla kings were interrupted by the intrusion of hill men, the Kambojas.

1026 A. D.

Mahīpāla I, the 9th king of the Pāla line expelled the Kambojas and is credited with a reign of 52 years.

Vigrahapāla III, the son of Nānyapala died about 1080. He left three sons Mahīpāla II, Śūrapāla II and Rāmapala.

Mahīpāla II succeeded his father and was killed by rebels.

Rāmapāla acquired the throne of his fathers.

Govindapāla was on the throne in A. D. 1175 and Indradyumnapāla according to tradition was ruling at the time of the Muhammadan conquest of 1197.¹

NAMES OF KINGS

						KURKIHAR MUSEUM INSCR. NO.
Devapāla	..	..	..	..	..	203
Mahīpāla	..	..	..	..	..	110
Rājyapāla	..	..	..	..	143, 152, 155, 185	
Rāṇo?	..	..	..	..	..	29
Vigrahapāla	..	..	..	..	..	2, 8, 9

¹ V. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th edition, 1924.
R. C. Mazumdar, *Pāla Chronology*.

NAMES OF PLACES

KURKIHAR
MUSEUM
INSCR. NO.

Āpanaka	..	..	..	..	152, 153, 185
Kāñci	3, 10, 16, 18, 32, 47, 51, 62, 65, 142, 166, 201				
Kerala	..	..	..	..	41
Gandhakuṭi	..	..	..	..	62, 65
Pūrvā	..	..	..	..	3
Mallapōra	..	..	..	..	203
Vāhiravaṇa	..	..	..	..	203
Sādhu	..	..	..	..	203
Suśīlanara	..	..	..	..	3

NAMES OF PERSONS

Amṛtavarman	..	..	..	..	3
Avalokita Siṃha	..	..	..	..	41
Utimāraka	..	..	..	..	2
Kalāṇḍa	..	..	..	..	75
Keśava	..	..	..	..	110
Khaṃgāka	..	..	..	..	221
Gari	..	..	..	..	20
Gopāla	..	..	..	..
Gopālahino	..	..	..	..	152, 155
Gopālahinokā	..	..	..	..	181
Gopālīncara	..	..	..	..	89
Gopālīśātaka	..	..	..	..	45
Gaṅkā	..	..	..	..	155
Candravarman	..	..	..	..	173
Jayata	..	..	..	..	168
Jāru	..	..	..	..	36
Tākadharmadeva	..	..	..	..	47

KURKIHAR
MUSEUM
INSCR. NO.

Tikuka	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Dulapa	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Duva	..	..	..	..	..	35, 150	
Dūtasīṅha...	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Dharmavarma	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Narasimha Caturvedin	..	..	..	..	..	..	143
Nāga	..	..	..	..	..	..	94
Nāgendravarma	..	..	..	..	..	..	201
Nānokara	..	..	..	..	..	..	24
Paḍaka	..	..	..	..	..	..	175
Pikhokā	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Prājña Sīṅha	..	..	..	..	..	..	143
Prabhākarasīṅha	...	..	..	..	..	18, 51	
Buddhajñāna	..	..	..	..	..	..	142
Buddhavarma	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Buddhavarman	..	..	..	..	..	62, 65, 187	
Bhaṭa	..	..	..	..	..	..	175
Mago	..	..	..	..	..	..	60
Maṅgane	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mañju	..	..	..	..	..	..	32
Mañjuśrīvarman	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mahattama Dulapa	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Mahiaru	..	..	..	..	..	..	185
Māṇeka	..	..	..	..	..	..	36
Mulakā	..	..	..	..	..	..	185
Yekhokā	..	..	..	..	..	..	147
Rāo (?) paṇīśiva	..	..	..	..	..	..	31
Rājoka	..	..	..	..	..	..	85
Rāhulavarman	..	..	..	..	..	..	166

						KURKIHAR MUSEUM INSCR. NO.
Vā (ṭu) kā ..	..	..	..	..	..	152
Vijayavarman	..	..	..	..	..	47, 48
Saha ..	..	..	..	..	..	87
Sahasuka ..	..	..	..	..	..	142
Sidhmaka ..	..	..	..	..	..	203
Suvalamati ..	..	..	..	..	..	147
Sopālahorā ..	..	..	..	..	..	152

A LETTER OF SHĀH ALAM II TO
GEORGE III, IN 1772

By KALIKINKAR DATTA

According to the Diwāni settlement of August 1765¹, Shāh Alam II was entitled to receive an annual tribute worth 26 lakhs of rupees out of the revenues of Bengal. The promise of the English, made since 1761, to render him military assistance for the fulfilment of his natural desire to return to Delhi was also reiterated by Clive². It is well known how this arrangement by legally supplementing those provided by the Company's treaty with Nawāb Najm-ud-daulah, dated the 20th February, 1765, made the former the virtual masters of the province of Bengal. But Lord Clive, out of various considerations³, still shrank from accepting direct responsibility for the administration of Bengal and instituted a system of government under which, authority being divorced from responsibility, administrative disorders and economic anomalies overwhelmed the province. Thus Richard Becher, an old servant of the Company in Bengal, observed in

¹ Atchison, Vol. I, p. 229.

² Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. I, 1186, 2688; Vol. II, 660; Vol. III, 399; Ghulām Ali, *Shāh Alamnāmah*, Vol. II, p. 253; *Sagarfnāmah* by Itsāmuddīn (Kujhwā Library Copy), pp. 10-11; Letter from Clive to Smith, 28th December, 1766.

³ These were expressed in Clive's Letter to the Select Committee, dated the 16th January, 1767.

his letter to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated the 24th May, 1769: "It must give pain to an Englishman to have Reason to think that since the accession of the Company to the Diwani the condition of the people of this country has been worse than it was before; and yet I am afraid the fact is undoubted. *** this fine country which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary government, is verging towards ruin***."

Lord Clive left India on the 26th January, 1767. The correspondence of Shāh Alam II with his successor, Harry Verelst, tells us of the Delhi Emperor's repeated complaints to the effect that the promised tribute was not paid to him regularly, though he was in great financial stringency, and of his request to the English to help with a body of troops in returning to Delhi. Verelst gave him favourable assurances with regard to both. Once he wrote to the Emperor that the English were not "flatterers" and that they "would never go back upon their words, nor fail His Majesty on the day of trial."⁴

But during the administration of John Cartier, who assumed the office of Governor on the 26th December, 1769, confusion became worse confounded and the scourge of the terrible famine of 1770 added to the woes of the already bankrupt province of Bengal. The remittance of the imperial tribute became more irregular than before in spite of repeated remonstrances on the part of Shāh Alam II. He had not received a single rupee for eleven months

⁴ Copies of Persian Letters issued (I.R.D.), No. 45; Chatterjee, *Verelst's Rule in India*, Chapter VI.

since Muniruddaulah had left Allāhābād, and only Rs. 4,75,000 were sent to him during the year 1770.⁵ In February, 1772, Mr. Cartier remitted six lakhs to him and observed that he was "trying his best to arrange for the remittance of another *kist*"^{5a}.

Convinced of the failure of the 'Dual System' of Lord Clive, the Court of Directors soon decided to 'stand forth as the Diwan', and Warren Hastings, already a tried servant of the Company in various capacities, was appointed by them Governor of Bengal in their letter, dated the 10th April, 1771, and received on the 2nd February, 1772. "Armed with full powers to effect a complete reformation", Hastings left Madras, where he had been a member of the Council since 1769, on the 3rd February, 1772 and reached Calcutta on the 17th of that month⁶. Since then he devoted himself to study not merely the state of the Company's administration in Bengal but also the complicated diplomatic situation in India, particularly due to the engagements of the Marāthas with Emperor Shāh Alam and the progress of their arms in the north.

The northern push of the Marāthas, and their control over the Delhi Emperor, were considered by Hastings as potential dangers to the Company⁷. The Delhi Emperor, in his opinion, no longer deserved support of the English and had forfeited his claim

⁵ C. P. C., III, XXVII.

^{5a} Ibid., p. 271.

⁶ Monckton Jones, *Warren Hastings in Bengal*, p. 114; Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, Vol. I, pp. 189-98.

⁷ Hastings' Letter to Purling, 22nd March, 1772, quoted in Monckton Jones, op. cit., pp. 181-82.

to the Bengal tribute. Thus even before formally accepting his new office, he wrote to Mr. Purling, Chairman of the Court of Directors, on the 22nd March, 1772:—

“I was surprised and concerned to find on my arrival that the King (Shāh Alam) still continued to receive the tribute of the provinces.....I think I may promise that no more payment will be made while he is in the hands of the Mahrattas nor, if I can prevent it, *ever more*. Strange! that while the revenue of the provinces is insufficient for its expenses and for the claims of the Company and our Mother Country, the wealth of the province (which is its blood) should be drained to supply the pageantry of a mock King, an idol of our own creation! but how much more astonishing that we should still pay him the same dangerous homage while he is the tool of the only enemies we have in India, and who want but such aids to prosecute their designs even to our own ruin.....”. He expressed his views in this respect more emphatically in his letter to Sir George Colebrooke, dated the 26th March, 1772⁸.

The remittance of the Imperial tribute was actually stopped in no time. The repeated demands of the Delhi Emperor for the ‘tribute’ received no favourable response from the Company’s Governor, who was determined, as he said, not merely to improve the economic condition of the province but also to reverse in full the system of Lord Clive, which he considered to be entirely unsuited to conditions of

⁸ Quoted in Sir John Strachey’s *Hastings and the Rohilla War*, pp. 59-62; Davies, *Warren Hastings and Oudh*, pp. 23-24.

the time. Hastings set forth his views in this respect in some of his letters and most clearly in his letter to Laurence Sullivan, dated the 12th October, 1773, wherein he observed: "As I see no use in excuses and evasions, which all the world can see through, I replied to the peremptory demand of the King (Shāh Alam II) for the tribute of Bengal by a peremptory declaration that not a rupee should pass through the provinces till they had recovered from the distresses to which the lavish payments made to him had principally contributed"⁹.

Placed in an extremely embarrassed situation, the unfortunate Emperor of Delhi even thought of sending a letter of representation to King George III of England, though the two similar letters¹⁰, already written by him before 1769, had remained unresponded. A copy of the letter of 1772 in English translation, as preserved in *Original Consultations* of the Secret Committee, dated the 11th December, 1772, runs as follows:—"At this time Major John Morrison having freed his shoulders of the Company's employ and being on his route to Europe by land, stopped at our Royal Encampment and presented us with addresses, from Mr. Cartier, our Vizire the

⁹ Quoted in Gleig, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 356-57.

¹⁰ Copies of Persian Letters received, 1769, No. 15.

Itsāmuddīn, the author of *Sagarfnāmah-i-Wilyat*, and Captain Swinton, were required to carry one such letter in 1766, but the letter was taken away by Clive. Recently Dr. A.B.M. Habibullah discovered one such letter in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, which, though undated, is believed by him to agree "substantially with what the Mirzā (Itsāmuddīn) says about its contents". *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XVI, pp. 97-98.

Nabob Shujah-ut-Dowlah, and General Sir Robt. Barker, to the following purport 'That Major John Morrison was on his tour to Europe by land'. When the afore-mentioned Major arrived at our Victorious Standards he perceived the refractoriness, contumacy, and inflexibility, of our servants, such as the Rohil-lahs, the Marrattahs, and other Omrahs of Hindostan, and our Vizire, and proposed serving us without demanding any Pay till the arrival of an answer, and he on his own part dispatched a letter for Mr. Hastings and the Council of Calcutta for Four Thousand Muskets, five hundred carbines, a thousand Pistols, and twenty pieces of artillery, and other implements of War, and We ever fortunate and propitious, bestowed on him a receipt for the sum of Four Laks of rupees for the payment of them. Accordingly, after four Months were elapsed a Letter arrived from Mr. Killican, who was a Friend of the Major's, to this effect 'That Mr. Hastings and the Council of Calcutta would not return an answer to his letter, or discharge the amount of the receipt which he had transmitted him'. General Barker, Mr. Hastings, and the Council of Calcutta for their private Interests hold a connection with Shujah-ut-Dowlah, and the said Nabob does not in the least exert his endeavours for the honorable Establishment of Our Empire, and they are guided by the advice of the said Nabob.

You our Brother dear to us as Life, are well acquainted, and it is apparent to you, that in former Times, Crores of rupees were paid from the Subahs of Bengal, Bahar and Aurissah (Orissā) to the Treasuries of the Kings of Hindostan. Of late by means

of the adversity of the Times, the affairs of that Quarter have been settled for the sum of Twenty six Laks of Rupees payable by the Company to our Royal Presence. Accordingly we have repeatedly written the Company and the Council of Calcutta to increase the annual stipend, and remit it to our sacred Presence. They as yet have not returned us an answer and having violated their Treaty, they have not remitted us what was appointed to be forthcoming from Bengal. How therefore will they pay an increase? We ever fortunate and propitious have therefore of necessity conferred upon John Morrison Esqr. the Title of General, and the Command of our present Forces, and what shall be hereafter levied and having reposed in him the direction of our negotiations, we have given him His dismission to proceed to you our Brother, in the capacity of an ambassador. If you our Brother will agree to send twenty thousand Muskets for our Seapoys, ten thousand carbines, and ten thousand brace of Pistols for our Cavalry, a train of artillery, and other warlike implements, with English Officers for the discipline of our Seapoys and cavalry, to ever continue on these conditions 'That if an Officer dies, or falls Battle, or returns to Europe, you will send another Officer to replace Him, and will pay the sum of thirty one Laks of rupees in four separate payments to our Royal Sircar, or should you hesitate at this amount, you will deliver in four payments whatever General John Morrison the Ambassador of our Presence shall represent to you, exceeding the amount of twenty six Laks of rupees'. We ever fortunate in return for all the above written conditions,

will give you our Brother Grants for the Countries of Bengal, Bahar and Aurissah, in a Manner that they may be under your Government and in case of troubles or disturbances arising in either of the Countries of Bengal, Bahar, and Aurissah we will send half of our People for their assistance and support, and if necessity should require it. We ever fortunate taking our whole Force with us will lend our Royal Standards towards that Quarter for their Protection. We likewise consent that the Company shall erect Factories for carrying on their Commerce in any part of Hindostan where they shall think proper, and in observance of the Company's satisfaction we will not oppose them; And whenever these supplies and Forces shall arrive in Calcutta, we will from that day provide for the expenses of Boats, and the artillery, and fix Forty rupees per day for a Major, Twenty rupees a day for a Captain, 10 rupees a day for a Lieutenant, and six rupees a day for an Ensign.

It is requisite that you our Brother, considering the increase of our Friendship and the above Written matters, with an attentive Eye, do write us without delay, and with the utmost expedition, an answer to each separate circumstance, with an account of the Articles being provided, which will be the cause of an increase in our affection, and regard, and be the means of strengthening the foundation of our Friendship. You must in future let the doors of correspondence be constantly kept open, for the arrangement of the concerns of this World is dependant upon Friendship! May the pillars of Our Friendship, and the Basis of our Union, by the Blessing of Pro-

vidence, ever continue strong, and undecayed."

Major John Morrison, an officer in the Company's military service, had lately resigned his commission and obtained permission of the Company's government in Calcutta "to proceed by land to Europe"¹¹. But, like so many other European military adventurers of the time, he thought of trying his luck here by securing an employment under an Indian ruler, accepted a commission in the army of Emperor Shāh Alam II¹² and promised to help the Emperor against his enemies. Both Mr. Hastings and Sir Robert Barker were opposed to his new appointment, and would have demanded his dismissal but for certain reasons, which were mentioned by the Governor in his letter to Sir Robert Barker, dated the 28th August, 1772. Hastings expressed therein: "To this purpose I should not be averse from making a requisition to the King, were there a prospect of compliance with it; but as we have little at present to bestow on His Majesty, it is not a likely season to obtain Mr. Morrison's dismissal as a favour, and nothing exposes weakness so much as demands that can not be enforced." He promised, however, to remonstrate against his conduct to the Court of Directors.

Commissioned by Shāh Alam II to proceed to the Court of Great Britain as his ambassador, Morrison first came to Bengal. On arriving at Chinsura he addressed a letter to Warren Hastings "formally

¹¹ Hastings' Letter to Sir George Colebrooke, dated 14th January, 1773.

¹² Ibid.

notifying his appointment" and requiring of the latter to let him know whether he "would receive him in his public character and demanding a passage in one of the Company's ships to England"¹³. The Governor, with the advice of the Select Committee, replied to him at once that he would "neither receive him in his public character, nor allow him a passage in any vessel belonging to this port (Calcutta)."¹⁴ But Morrison returned this letter "unopened, with a second letter from him expressing his reasons for this behaviour, which were, that Hastings had addressed him simply by the title of Major John Morrison instead of giving him the rank which he bore by his present commission, or that of Captain, which he held in the service of his Britannic Majesty"¹⁵.

Hastings considered this conduct of Morrison to be an insult offered to him in his public character. Referring to the letter of Shāh Alam, which Morrison carried with him, the Governor observed: "It is a treachery equally replete with the basest treachery and ingratitude. Of all the powers of Indostan, the English alone have really acknowledged the King's authority; they invested him with the royalty he now possesses; they conquered for him and gave him a territory; they paid him an annual tribute, the only pledge of fealty which he has ever received, of twenty six lakhs of rupees (£325,000 sterling) while the trade and revenue of their own provinces suffered a visible decay by this diminution of their specie, and they were

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

compelled to pay a yearly interest of ten lacs for money borrowed, to furnish their investment and defray the current expenses of their government; yet, because we suspended the payment of this tribute, when the provinces of Bengal and Bahar had lost nearly one half of their inhabitants by the mortality of 1770, and the survivors in many parts were unable to pay their rents by the want of purchasers, and of money to purchase the produce of their harvests, and when he had made himself an instrument of the Mahrattas who threatened the dominions of our ally and our own with their devastations; such was the infatuation of this ill-advised man, that, regardless of all the bounties which he had received from the only power which had ever treated him with the least degree of kindness, he considered himself as robbed of his right, and as a retribution to his benefactors, or as a resource for his own wants, he formed the project of making a tender of their property to the King their sovereign, on the condition of the like pecuniary homage as the Company has hitherto paid him, and the little less expensive vassalage of military service¹⁶.

The previous appeals of Shāh Alam II to George III had produced no satisfactory results for him, and there was certainly no better prospect for the third one. But Hastings apprehended some mischief for the Company from this procedure, in view of the growing interference of the Ministry in England into the affairs of the Company in India, as the conduct of

¹⁶ Ibid.

Sir John Lindsay and Sir Robert Harland in the Carnatic had shown. One special cause for his anxiety was his belief that Morrison had "a warm patron in Lord North, and the grant of the Dewannee of Bengal to the Crown may be deemed a valid plea for dispossessing the present proprietors of it"¹⁷.

Under these considerations, Hastings "judged it of the most essential importance to prevent Major Morrison, if possible, from arriving in England before the Court of Directors could be furnished with full intelligence of his errand and have had time to take the necessary measures for obviating their effect"¹⁸. Thus, on hearing that Morrison was about to 'take his passage' in a Danish ship bound for Europe, he applied Mr. Bie, a gentleman of the Superior Council of Tranqueber then deputed to regulate the affairs of the Danish Company in Bengal, to prevent him from doing so and succeeded in securing an order from the Danish factory at Serampore "forbidding his admission in their vessel"¹⁹. But Major Morrison at last embarked on a Dutch vessel, and Hastings considered "the government of Chinsura having on this occasion broken through the rule of their service, which forbids the admission of foreigners as passengers on their vessels to Europe"²⁰.

I have no knowledge as yet as to the further activities of Major Morrison. But this much is certain that Shāh Alam's representation was futile.

¹⁷ Hastings' Letter to Colebrooke, 15th January, 1773.

¹⁸ Hastings' Letter to Colebrooke, 14th January, 1773.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Hastings' Letter to Colebrooke, 2nd February, 1773.

The subsequent records of the Company contain copious references to the pathetic appeals of the Delhi Emperor for the remittance of the Bengal tribute. It was distinctly laid down in one of the clauses of the Treaty of Benares, concluded by Hastings with Shujā-uddaulah on the 7th September, 1773, that the English "were to cease paying tribute to Shāh Alam"²¹. When after this the Delhi Emperor wrote to Mr. Hastings on the 9th September, 1773, asking the Governor to remit to him "tribute from Bengal and give up Korah and Allāhābād,"²² he received on the 13th the following reply:

"Upon the affairs of Bengal I have before in my letters represented the distressed condition of the people and the poverty of the country, which are solely owing to the heavy drafts which have been made of its current specie for your Majesty's remittances. As it is the will of God, and agreeable to the commands of the English Company, my masters, that I am entrusted with the care and protection of the people of these provinces, and as their condition, which is at this time on the edge of misery, would be ruined past remedy by draining the country of the little wealth which remains in it, I must plainly declare that until the safety and welfare of these provinces will admit of it, I cannot consent that a single rupee be sent out of them which it is in my power to detain"²³. Hastings, as he said, was supported in this step by the Court of Directors,

²¹ Forrest, *Selections*, Vol. I, p. 59.

²² Ibid., pp. 57-58.

²³ Ibid., p. 58.

who in a letter, dated the 3rd March, 1775, ordered that "no further remission should be made to him (Shāh Alam II) without their express permission".

MIR JUMLA AND THE ENGLISH IN MADRAS (1655-58)

(Based mainly on English Factory Records)

By JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

Mir Jumla joins imperial service

By 1655 Nawab Mir Jumla, having 'tasted regal independence' in his consolidated dominions of the Karnatak, decided to desert his master, the Sultan of Golkonda, of whose weakness he had been fully aware. To secure himself against the natural efforts of the Sultan to crush his overgrown minister, the latter had already been engaged in intrigues with the Sultan of Bijapur, the Shah of Persia, the Raja of Chandragiri, the Abyssinian governor of the Bijapuri Karnatak, Aurangzeb, the Mughal Viceroy in the Deccan, and even the Mughal Emperor. But the conduct of his son precipitated a crisis in the shape of the imprisonment of his family by the Sultan of Golkonda (21st November, 1655). Emperor Shahjahan, however, appointed Mir Jumla in imperial service (3rd December). Even in the matter of the ownership of his Karnatak conquests, which had remained a disputed question in spite of the conclusion of peace between the Mughal and Golkonda, he got from the Mughal Emperor a confirmation of what he had secured by force. Qutb Shah justly claimed it and tried to retain that rich province and reassert his own au-

thority over Mir Jumla's acquisitions. But Shah Jahan, incited by Aurangzeb, decided to treat it as Mir Jumla's personal jagir, held directly from the Emperor, and free of tribute for seven years¹ and curtly ordered the recall of all Golkonda officers from that province.² The Madras factors wrote on 7th July, 1656 (before the decision was known there): "As for this country about us, tis indifferent quiett; continueing yett under the Nabobs government, whose officers still remaine in their places of command, though the army bee much lessned (lessened) by his departure."³

But continues his commercial activities

At the same time, absorbed as Mir Jumla was in his political ambitions, he never lost sight of commerce, the perennial source of his wealth and prosperity. Though elevated, as a minister and a general, he had continued, through his agents, his wide-spread commercial enterprises in Golkonda; even after he went over to the Mughals he continued his trade relations with Golkonda, the Sultan of which had perforce to acquiesce, with mortification, in those activities of his "revolted vassal", having at his back the strong support of the Mughals. As the Madras factors

¹ Thomas Symonds to Surat (2nd August, 1656); Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1655-60 (henceforth abbreviated, F. E. F.) 91.

² The above details are based on Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, I and II, Ch. 10; Love *Vestiges of Old Madras*, I, 165; Jesson at Agra to Surat (6th February and 7th May, 1656); Madras to Surat (16th July, 1656); F. E. F., 62-63, 64-65, 66-67, 90-91; Srinivasachari, *History of Madras*, 52-3.

³ F. E. F. 91.

observed in their letter of 10th November, 1656 :
"Yet doe his (Nawab's) factors negotiate in Pallecatt,
Metchlepatam &c. places of Cuttub Shawes dominion,
by vertue of the Moghors power."⁴

The year 1655, a landmark

In short, the year 1655 formed an important landmark in the career of Mir Jumla. Setting at naught the authority of his feeble master of Golkonda, he was not only able to obtain the possession of the Karnatak as his personal jagir with the help of the Mughal Emperor, but was also safe under the latter's sheltering wings against any reprisal from his old and naturally indignant master. Indeed, Mir Jumla's period of apprenticeship or preparation for a successful political career was now over. Destiny now raised him to an exalted situation in a much more secure but wider political sphere.

Change in Mir Jumla's attitude towards the English

Naturally, therefore, a definite change is henceforth noticeable in his relations with the English E. I. C. So long he had utilised the E. I. C. as an instrument for realising his commercial and political ambitions and usually maintained outwardly an attitude of friendship.⁵ But his quick successes and entry into the imperial service, assuring him a bright future, rendered any further wooing of the E. I. C. unnecessary on his part.

⁴ F. E. F. 92; Love I, 166.

⁵ My articles on Mir Jumla and the English (upto 1650), published in the Proceedings of the Third Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1939, and the English Missions to Mir Jumla (1650-52).

At the same time, however, his departure from the unstable political equilibrium of the Deccan, leaving his territorial and economic interests under the charge of his lieutenants, the uncertainty of his coming back to or of his exercising effective control over the Karnatak, generated certain factors which aggravated the friction of Mir Jumla and the English factors in Madras the faint beginnings of which are noticeable in the period 1652-55.⁶ It is, of course, difficult to estimate how far the Nawab himself was responsible for the intensification of that friction, from a study of the English records alone⁷.

Genesis of the so-called 'Hindu Revolt' in the Karnatak

The absence of Nawab Mir Jumla from the Karnatak and the Emperor's recall of all Golkonda officers therefrom, created an opportunity for a Hindu revolt in all those places there, which had formerly been conquered by the Nawab. Sri Ranga Rayal, the last representative of the house of Vijaynagar, naturally tried to avail himself of it to recover his ancestral throne and reoccupy the Karnatak. Smarting under feelings of jealousy and frustrated ambition at the loss of that spacious and rich kingdom, the Sultan of Golkonda began to incite the Hindus there against the Nawab's officials.⁸ In

⁶ My article on the English in Madras and Mir Jumla (1652-55), submitted to the Fourth Indian History Congress, Lahore, 1940.

⁷ Foster, *op. cit.*

⁸ Fort St. George to Company (10th November, 1655), Love I, 165, 166 and n; Madras to Surat (21 October, 1656), and Madras to Bantam (5 November, 1656); F. E. F. 97, 92-93; Aiyangar, *Sri Ranga, the last ruler of the Vijaynagar Empire in European Records*, Proceedings, I. H. R. C. XV (1938), 31-32.

Chamber's Narrative there is a significant reference to a report to the effect that "the King of Gulcondah had lett the country of Carnaticum again to the Roylaes."⁹ In fact Sri Ranga's movement might very well be regarded as the last attempt for recovery on the part of that Hindu power of the south, which having a brilliant history up to 1565, had to struggle thenceforth against various odds and impediments. It should not be considered as an insignificant revolt of a local chief, because Sri Ranga made a bid for revival of power in cooperation with Nayaks¹⁰ and *vizadores* or *talliarrs*.¹¹ It would appear that whatever might have been the degree of success in Mir Jumla's efforts at consolidation of his power in the Karnatak, his conquest of it did not completely crush the spirit of the Hindus there. Thus there was now an almost

⁹ F. E. F. 95. *The Chamber's Narrative* (F. R. Misc. Vols. 3 and 9, 1660-61) is an unsigned and undated narrative of events at Madras during 1639-58, written apparently by Thomas Chamber between 1659-62. It was sent by Agent Chambers to Jonathan Trevisa in Bengal, who wanted to know about the origin of Mir Jumla's quarrel with the English and was found among his papers. Its value lies chiefly in the fact that its account of the siege or blockade of Madras in Greenhill's time was that of an eyewitness. But it must be remembered that since Chamber was one of those concerned in the seizure of the Nawab's junk, all his statements may not therefore be regarded as unbiassed. As it is undated, the chronology is uncertain, and so it is to be supplemented by reference to other dated factory correspondence. A copy of it is preserved in Factory Records, Miscellaneous, Vol. III, p. 15. Transcribed by the Committee. (Love I, 187, 188; F. E. F. 41, 94, 97).

¹⁰ Madras to Bantam (5 November, 1656); F. E. F. 97.

¹¹ The word *Vizadores* or *Talliarrs* usually meant watchmen, but Sir William Foster takes it here to mean 'village headmen'. Port, *Visitador* or inspector or overseer is loosely used in the same sense. F. E. F. 93 and n; Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, 678 (Tam. Talaiyari).

general rising on the part of the *vizadores* or *talliarrs* against their Moslem masters. There was also a manifest decline in the *morale* of the Nawab's party. The Fort St. George factors, uncertain of the final outcome of the "Gentues Rising", observed that the Nawab's party was "very much disheartened and weak and that the vizadores fell off from obedience and together betrayed their lords."¹² Similarly the Talliarrs near San Thome betrayed Bāla Rau, the Nawab's governor of San Thome and Poonamallee.

The initial efforts of the Hindus were marked with quick successes. By October, 1656, the whole country round Madras, except the castle of Poonamallee, was recovered by them.¹³ The credit of acquiring this part of the Karnatak goes to Vengum Raja, the father-in-law of Sri Ranga, who, assisted by a number of soldiers, even invaded Peddapollium. On getting news of it, Mir Sayyid Ali, Mir Jumla's governor of Poonamallee, returned to Pulicat, instead of raising the siege or coming there.¹⁴ Such reverses adversely affected the morale of the Nawab's party, and taking advantage of the general rising on the part of the *vizadores* or *Talliarrs* at Pulicat, Poonamallee, and San Thome, Vengum Raja collected the

¹² Letter to Co. (10th November, 1656); Love I, 166.

¹³ Madras to Surat (21 October, 1656); F. E. F. 97; I. H. R. C. XV, 33.

¹⁴ Chamber's Narrative; F. E. F. 95; Love I, 190; Foster (ibid) and Aiyangar (I. H. R. C. XV, 32) respectively state that Peddapollium was possibly Peddanaikpetta, a 'suburb' or 'ward' of Madras. Srinivasachari, (*History of Madras*, 53) identifies it with Periyapalayam, near Madras.

Talliarrs together and also marched towards Pulicat¹⁵, where most of the Nawab's riches were reported to have been stored up¹⁶. Then Vengum Raja wrote to Koneri Chetti¹⁷, Sri Ranga's general in the regions round Poonamallee, requesting him to "gather people together", and seize the country of Poonamallee, which was brought under Hindu control.¹⁸ Accordingly Koneri Chetti captured Bāla Rau¹⁹, the Nawab's governor of San Thome, Mylapore and Poonamallee, who was betrayed by the *Talliarrs* near San Thome.²⁰ The Hindus "pillaged him to his clothes" and seized 20 elephants of Mir Jumla and 16 of other "perticular Moore Merchants". The former brought all of them to Madras as prisoners, where they remained and, as the factors held, were likely to remain till a better settlement of the country.²¹

The Muhammadans retrieve their honour

On hearing of these initial disasters, Tupāki Krishnappa Nāyak²², the Nawab's general, sent Lingum

¹⁵ Fort St. George to Co. (10th November, 1656); Love I, 166; Chamber's Narrative, Ibid, 190; F. E. F. 95.

¹⁶ Madras to Bantam (5 November, 1656); F. E. F. 97. The siege of Pulicat probably began sometime between 21 October and 5 November, 1656, (as the letter of 21 October, makes no mention of the siege, while that of 5 November refers to it). In December Vengum Raja withdrew from there to assist Koneri Chetti at Poonamallee.

¹⁷ Madras merchant and associate of Seshadri Nayak, and a former servant of the Rayal, Love I, 167n.

¹⁸ Chamber's Narrative; F. E. F. 95; Love I, 190.

¹⁹ Ibid. Madras to Surat (21 October, 1656); F. E. F. 97.

²⁰ Fort St. George to Co. (10th November, 1656); Love I, 166.

²¹ Ibid. Elsewhere we read of "36 elephants, great and small, belonging to the Nawab" (Madras to Surat, 21 October, 1656).

²² Described by Francis Martin as *Tripachisse napa naigue*

Nāyak, with a party of cavalry and infantry to capture Koneri Chetti, with whom the Nawab's forces had several skirmishes for two or three days near Poona-mallee.²³

The failure of the Hindus to capture the castle of Poonamallee was due to the treacherous²⁴ delay of

(Love I, 168n). Speaking of the respective commanders of the Sri Ranga and Mir Jumla, Love writes: "That a Telegu merchant should command the Raja's forces is singular enough, but that the Nawab should employ a general of that race when ample selection from Moslem warriors was open to him is even more surprising. The practice, however, was not uncommon, and during the siege of San Thome in 1673, Telegu officers held high command in the King of Golconda's army" (Love I, 168).

²³ Chamber's Narrative; Love I, 190-1 and notes; F. E. F. 95-96.

²⁴ Aiyangar (I. H. R. C. XV, 33) writes: "As usual Sri Ranga was badly served and it is the faithlessness and disaffection of his own officers that are again responsible for his not having achieved the measure of success that he should have". Koneri Chetti finally surrendered to the Muhammadans as a prisoner. But the fact that he was received in state by their commanders with unusual honour, together with his alliance and near relationship to Tupāki Krishnappa (of Gingi), the Nawab's general, and "other circumstances and observations in his present deport and continued respect from Krishnappa" were sufficient evidence of the truth of the general suspicion of his having purposely betrayed the Hindu army (Letter of Madras factors to the Co. 28 Jan., 1657; Love I, 168) at the persuasion of Tupāki Krishnappa. Srinivasachari (op. cit., 53) says that Koneri Chetti made overtures to Tupāki Krishnappa, who continued to inflict a defeat on Sri Ranga in September, 1657, and that this brought about the siege of Madras on behalf of Mir Jumla, the first of its kind.

The strength of the Hindu revolt was not, however, substantially diminished by the treachery of Koneri Chetti. Even towards the end of January, 1657, the Fort St. George factors observed that the Raja of Chandragiri "Yet is able to counterprize the Nabobs party and may happily gett the day at last if the Nabob come not in person to conserve his conquest" (Letter of 28 January, 1657; Love I, 167-8; F. E. F. 98). The Raja of Chandragiri was not only able to maintain parity with the Nawab's party, but as we learn from a Batavia letter of about the same time—even captured the pagoda of Tirupati with 8,000

their general Koneri Chetti, who failed to strike till Mir Jumla's party "had united their forces and formed a body to overpower him."²⁵ It is probable that after Koneri Chetti had been beaten by the Muhammadans, he was reinforced by Vengum Raja, who had so long besieged Pulicat.²⁶ But their combined forces proved unable to encounter Lingum Nāyak and so Vengum Raja and Koneri Chetti²⁷ fled to Peddanaikpetta near Madras and sought protection in the fort of Madras with their army, being hotly pursued by the Muhammadans, the river running between the two parties.²⁸ Lingum Nayak then sent a peon to Agent Greenhill to inform him that he had no designs against the town but to make peace with Koneri Chetti and Vengum Rajah and carry them with him. Hence he desired that the English should not oppose him, as he had "nothing to say" to them. Thereupon the Agent ordered that no guns should be fired, preferring to await events²⁹.

soldiers and then planned the conquest of the districts of Conjeeveram, Chingleput, Carmigaelypatam and Pulicat (Hague Trans. Sec. 1, Vol. XXI, no. 612 in F. E. F.) See I. H. R. C. 33 for further details about the progress of the Hindu revolt.

²⁵ Fort St. George to Co. 28 January, 1657; Love I, 167; F. E. F. 98.

²⁶ From Chamber's Narrative it is not clear whether Vengum Raja joined Koneri before the latter's discomfiture.

²⁷ From the Fort St. George letter of 28 January it appears that only Koneri Chetti "basely fled to Madras with his army." The Chamber's Narrative is not very explicit on this point; but as both Vengum Raja and Koneri Chetti were delivered up by the English, it is reasonable to hold that both sought refuge in the Fort.

²⁸ Chamber's Narrative; Love I, op. cit; F. E. F. op. cit.

²⁹ Ibid.

First siege of Madras, December 1656

About 3 O'clock (? p. m.) on 18th December, 1656, the Muhammadans under Lingum Nāyak attacked the Hindus and driving and pursuing them into the town, entered Madras.³⁰ They burnt some thatched houses, plundered others and seized the cloths and other goods belonging to the Company. A great damage was thus inflicted on the Hindu inhabitants, who deserted the town in large numbers.³¹ The factors expressed their opinion that Madras could have been "preserved" (i.e. defended) if the soldiers of Koneri Chetti, numerically as strong as those of the Muhammadans had but "stayed to make good the outworkes which were lately made defensible, and 4 pieces or ordnance, out of the Nawab's junk, planted thereon."³²

Hence the English factors thought that Koneri Chetti would have betrayed the fort, if they had, according to his importunities, lent him 200 or 300 men, on the ground of defending the fort against the enemy, and on the threat of killing all his women in case of refusal. But the factors thanked God that He directed them better than "to trust him with such a power" that might cause them too soon to repent.³³

Effect of the Hindu revolt on Madras

Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that

³⁰ Ibid; Fort St. George to Co. (28 January, 1657); F. E. F. 97-98; Love I, 167.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Fort St. George to Co. (28 January, 1657); Love I, 167; F. E. F. 98. For the seizure of the Nawab's junk see later.

³³ Love I, 168; F. E. F. 98-99; Srinivasachari, 54-55.

the Hindu revolt in the Karnatak produced adverse effects on the Company's settlement in Madras. The Agent protested that the action of the Muhammadan soldiers was a violation of the promises made by Lingum Nāyak and threatened that he would adopt necessary measures to force them out of the town. Thereupon they had to retreat "out of shot of the Fort,"³⁴ but not till they had lost about 30 men in a broil "about a mile off on the further side of the River by the Toddy trees of Vippore."³⁵ But the departure of Mir Jumla's soldiers was not followed by the immediate restoration of normal conditions in the English settlement at Madras. Already the Madras factors had written to Bantam (5 November 1656): "Here is nothing but taking and retaking of places with parties of both sides in all places; soe that tis very dangerous giving out monies for goods in these tymes."³⁶ They further informed the Company (28th January, 1657) that the wars in these parts had exceedingly hindered the progress of the Company's business there, especially through the treachery of Koneri Chetti.³⁷

Situation of the Dutch

It was not the English settlement at Madras alone which was placed in such a miserable plight. Even the Dutch at Pulicat in spite of their strong

³⁴ Chamber's Narrative; Love I, 190-1. Love speaks of the struggle between Vijaynagar and Golkonda (I, 167).

³⁵ Vippore or Vepery is a village about a mile and a half west of the Fort. Love I, 167; F. E. F. 97-98.

³⁶ F. E. F. 97.

³⁷ Ibid; Love I, 167.

fortifications, had also to bear the brunt of a siege,³⁸ conducted on behalf of the Raja of Chandragiri. As the Fort St. George factors observed (28th January, 1657)³⁹: "Nor are our Dutch neighbours in Pullecatt altogether secure for all their strength should the Gentue King overcome".

Attitude of the Dutch

It may be noted here that the attitude of the Dutch towards the Hindu cause was unfavourable. The Raja of Chandragiri had at first secretly requested the Dutch chief at Pulicat to procure for him the Nawab's riches, reported to be stored up there (apparently for reasons of safety) or at least to prevent its being carried away by sea. But the Dutch told him that they had no jurisdiction in the town, which was guarded by the Nawab's soldiers. To his second request that the Dutch should remain neutral if he besieged it, they replied that they were pledged to assist the Nawab in that case⁴⁰. Thus in spite of the temporary alienation between Mir Jumla and the Dutch between 1650-55⁴¹, the latter were inclined to espouse his cause in case of an attack of Pulicat by the Hindus.

Attitude of the English

In striking contrast to this attitude of the Dutch

³⁸ Letter of 5 November, 1656.

³⁹ F. E. F. 1655-60.

⁴⁰ Batavia letter (end of January, 1657); Hague Trans. series 1, Vol. XXI, no. 612; F. E. F. 99.

⁴¹ My articles on "The English Missions to Mir Jumla (1650-52)" and "The English in Madras and Mir Jumla (1652-55)".

towards the Hindu revolt in the Karnatak was that of the English factors at Fort St. George. Their actions and correspondence amply testify to the fact that they had full sympathy for the Hindu cause. Greenhill and Chamber wrote to the Company on 10th November, 1656, that they would wait (in the matter of opening the parcels of silver in the Nawab's junk) till the country was "settled in the Gentue Kings possession, which would not only secure us from future trouble but much advance your affaires in these parts, for some good service wee have done him in assisting Conar Cittee (Koneri Chetti), his generall for these quarters; which business, if the success bee sutable to the beginning, this place will be better worth your owing then ever."⁴² A Madras despatch to Bantam (5 November, 1656) expressed: ".....wee hope ere long 'twilbe better settled, especially for us, if the King recovers his countrey."⁴³ Again the Madras factors, Greenhill and Thomas exultingly wrote to the Company (28th January, 1657) that "the Gentue King.....yet is able to counterprize the Nabobs party and may happily gett the day at last if the Nabob come not in person to conserve his conquest... ". Moreover, Koneri Chetti⁴⁴ a general of Sri Ranga, who had received assistance from the Madras factors, was refused it when they suspected him of treachery towards the Hindu cause. At the same time the factors felt no hesitation in protesting against the un-

⁴² F. E. F. 1655-60, 94. The English lent money to Koneri Chetti at the request of Sri Ranga on pawns. (Fort St. George to Co. 28 January, 1657; *ibid*, 98; Love I, 167).

⁴³ *Ibid*, 97.

⁴⁴ Letter of 10 November, 1656; Love I, 167; F. E. F.

warranted acts of wanton pillage and destruction which Mir Jumla's soldiers under Lingum Nayak perpetrated on the Hindu inhabitants of Madras and which ruinously affected the Company's economic and commercial interests there.

It would thus appear that the desperate endeavours of the Hindu Raja, Sri Ranga, to recover a portion of his dispossessed territories had behind them the sympathy and possibly some support of the English.

But though sympathetic towards and assisting their late benefactor, the Raja of Chandragiri, the English did not now want to give any offence to their new master, Mir Jumla, by openly denying his authority, if it could be avoided. Thus when Agent Greenhill heard of the capture of Bāla Rau by Koneri Chetti, he apprehended that any possible injury to Bāla Rau by the latter might be construed as being instigated by the English, who nourished a grievance against Bāla Rau⁴⁵; and therefore Greenhill asked Koneri to "deliver him (Bāla Rau) into his protection" and allowed him "a house and maintenance."⁴⁶

This difference in the respective attitudes of the English and the Dutch towards the struggle between Vijaynagar and Mir Jumla arose partly from the difference in the nature of their commerce and partly from previous political factors⁴⁷.

⁴⁵ For reasons explained later. Was it a screen to hide English factors' help to Koneri?

⁴⁶ Chamber's Narrative; Love I, 190; F. E. F. 95.

⁴⁷ The English E. I. C. specialised in cotton, silks &c. the Dutch in precious stones (valuable, less bulky), the Portuguese in bullion (gold and silver) Antwerp has a tradition of being a

*Mir Jumla's governors and their relations with
the English factors in Madras*

On the whole, the English factors had "much more reason to rejoice than complain"⁴⁸ at the Hindu revolt in the Carnatic. For sometime past they had been harbouring a grievance against the "intollerable injuries and affronts" inflicted on them by the tyrannous and insolent ministers or governors of Mir Jumla. The seed of such troubles was sown during the administration of President Baker (1652-55). In referring to the troubles with Mir Jumla, Greenhill and Chamber observed (4th February, 1656): "In the booke of transactions with the Nabob (you will) read how hee hath intrenched on our privileges (in Madras) patam; which was begun by the Braminees (mentioned in Mr.) Bakers tyme, who would take no notice of their (actions but) supported them..... In the meantyme wee strive to keep what wee have untill better times."⁴⁹ It is also clear from the letter of Curtis and Chamber (27 December, 1655) that Mir Jumla was definitely alienated from the English about the middle of 1655. This led the English factors to devise ways and means to cope with the situation. Thus we find that in view of the

'gem port'. The Dutch sympathy for Mir Jumla was owing to trade in precious jewels (e.g. Nawab's riches stored up in Pulicat). The English sympathy for Vijaynagar was for the Carnatic, owing to the confirmation of the grant of Madras by the Raja of Chandragiri.

⁴⁸ Letter of 10th November, 1658; F. E. F. 93.

⁴⁹ F. E. F. 46 and n. Baker was President of Fort St. George from September 1, 1652 to January 20, 1655. For details see my article on "The English in Madras and Mir Jumla (1652-55)".

growing differences between the English and Mir Jumla over the former's privileges in Madraspatam, it was decided at a general consultation at Viravāsaram (16th October, 1655) that Henry Greenhill should be requested to continue as President of Fort St. George, such a request "being a necessity" not only for these differences but also for the need of investing the Company's existing stock in the East Coast worth 15,000 old pagodas. Greenhill condescended to stay there till an improvement in the Company's affairs was effected.⁵⁰

Another necessity felt by the Company's factors was to retain the factory at Viravāsaram, contrary to the orders of the Company. In their letter to the latter (27 December, 1655) Curtis and Chamber explained that Masulipatam was under Nawab Mir Jumla and Viravāsaram under "the King" (i.e. Raja of Chandragiri), so that if the Nawab become angry (as six months ago) and did not grant "fare quarter" (fair treatment) at Masulipatam, the factors might go to Viravāsaram and complete their business in half the time. Though Masulipatam was the "head-place" i.e. the centre of trade in the East Coast, most of the white cloth provided there was bought out of the small villages adjacent to Viravāsaram. Hence the English factors considered it to be so necessary a place that had it not been for that factory they would not have invested half their money. The Dutch were endeavouring to settle a factory there but could not succeed owing to the fear of competition of the

⁵⁰ F. E. F. 37-38; Love I, 160.

English; and it would be hard to dislodge the Dutch or reoccupy it from them, once they possessed it after its desertion by the English.⁵¹

The departure of the Nawab from the Carnatic to the Mughal Court undoubtedly intensified the friction between his representatives and the English and probably emboldened the factors to indulge in their private trade in a greater degree than before. To a large extent the friction between the English factors and the Nawab was due to the alleged incidents of oppressions and insolencies shown by the latter's governors. In English records we read of Mallappa, Sayyid Ibrahim, Timmaji, Bāla Rau and Mir Sayyid Ali, as connected with Nawab's government of Poonamallee or having relations with the English at Madras during the period under review. Sir William Foster and Love describe Mallappa and Timmaji as the Nawab's Adigar or representative at the choultry of Madras; but it would appear that Mallappa was not only the Nawab's Adigar at Madras, but also acted as his Governor of Poonamallee. After confirming the privileges granted to the English by Sri Ranga in June, 1647, Mir Jumla sent Mallappa, along with the English Agent, "to look after the government" to Madras, where he remained for seven years, "governing after the manner of the former

⁵¹ F. E. F. 39-40.

Edward Winter and William Palmer were placed in charge of Masulipatam and Vīravāsaram respectively, and allowed to maintain both the factories, including all charges (except reparations) at 30 old pagodas a month. They were also required, out of the sum, to keep Pettapoli house and Dulepunde house in repairs *re* walls and tiles and employ men (paid wages) for looking after them.

Governors". Next, Sayyid Ibrahim succeeded Mallapa as Governor of Poonamallee and he sent Timmaji as the Nawab's Adigar at Madras.⁵² According to the *Chamber's Narrative*, followed by Sir William Foster⁵³, the relations between the English and the Nawab's governors remained amicable till the appointment of Bāla Rau as the previous governors ruled according to the terms of the *Coml.* But in their letter to the Company, Curtis and Chamber (27th December, 1655)⁵⁴ observed that the Nawab had and still licensed the governors to "infringe on the liberties of the English" in the regions round Madras. This would show that the predecessors of Bāla Rau were also more or less guilty in the matter of inflicting oppressions on the English. But, as noted elsewhere, Mallapa was always on good terms with the Company. Thus it would appear that the successive local governors appointed by Mir Jumla from the time of Sayyid Ibrahim onwards had begun to commit oppressions on the E. I. C. at Fort St. George, but that matters became unbearable in the time of Bāla Rau, governor of Poonamallee.

⁵² Chamber's Narrative; Love I, 189.

⁵³ F. E. F. 1655-60.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 41; See Love I, 160-1 for details regarding them.

Miscellaneous Article

A TIBETAN ACCOUNT OF BENGAL

By S. C. SARKAR

Dr. Majumdār has contributed an article in the IHQ (for June, '40) on Lama Tārānātha's Account of Bengal, the main points of which are: (1) some information about the Candra kings, (2) a version of the rise of Gopāla, (3) some items of medieval geography of Bengal.

This article being based on an old German translation of only one of Tārānātha's works, and on an indifferent and partial English translation of that German translation, the information given therein is naturally inadequate and somewhat incorrect; in fact the whole material of Tārānātha has not been utilised and only a few stray passages have been taken out at random; Schiefner's translation again is sometimes free and uncritical, and he could not have realised the value of Tibetan name-forms and expressions for the early history of Bengal and India quite clearly in his time (1869); his text needs checking, and probably he misread names or his text gave a number of mis-scripts he could not rectify. A fresh, closely literal English translation of Tārānātha's works is a great need, as also a detailed and critical examination of the name-forms in the Tibetan text; the same applies to a number of very important Tibetan works

and fragments of a historical character, which have not yet been translated.

I do not profess to know as yet so much of the Tibetan sources that I can give a complete Tibetan version of Indian History; I have been able to touch only the fringe of this wide sea of historical materials, say $\frac{1}{4}\%$ of them at most. I had drawn up an outline of this paper for the History Congress before the arrival of the aforequoted issue of the IHQ in my department; but I hope that with my beginner's scanty stock I will yet be able to set forth additional points of historical interest from Tibetan sources, over and above those already embodied in the aforesaid Journal.

On these latter points, however, I have to make a few preliminary observations, before passing on to my main presentation:—It is not correct to say that “all the kings before Gopāla had the ‘Candra’ name-ending”; all kings of the Candra-Vaṃśa had the ‘Candra’ name-ending, and the Candra Dynasty was prior to the Pāla Dynasty, and there were other Dynasties or kings in between. Vṛkṣa Candra was not “one of the earliest of the Candra kings”; he had at least a dozen predecessors, if not more. Kāma Candra was not contemporary of “Śrī-Harṣa”, but of Siha-Bhaṣara,—the former form being apparently a mis-script for the latter in Schiefner's text; similarly, Siṃha Candra was contemporary of Siha-Bharṣi, or simply Siha (i.e. the then Siha, Siṃha or Licchavi king), not of Śīla, which is a similar mis-script. Bāla-Candra was not “driven from Baṅgāla by Pañcama-Siṃha Licchavi”, but his own father Siṃha Candra banished him from

Baṅgāla into Tīrahūti. It was not "Vimala Candra who retrieved the fortunes of his family and conquered Baṅgāla, Kāmarūpa and Tīrahūti," but Bāla Candra who gathered power during exile and used it for a conquest of those three provinces (apparently from his oppressive father), and Vimala Candra simply succeeded Bāla Candra as king over these regions. Finally the chronology based on an alleged synchronism of Gopī and one of many Dharma-Kīrtis is not borne out by other clear facts about the Candra Dynasty and the conclusion that "it ended about 725", and almost immediately after, save for a brief period of anarchy, was succeeded by the Pāla Dynasty,—is wide of mark by about 175 years. In fact we have here a "summary of political history of Bengal" which is "gleaned" very casually.—Additional and corrective information on medieval geography of Bengal will be found in a Note of mine in the December issue of the Indian Culture.

For the following sketch I too have 'gleaned', a little less casually, from two Tibetan sources, mainly the 'Bhadra-Kalpa-druma', and partly the 'Mañjuśrīmūla-kalpa' as a supplement. The former work, whose Tibetan name is 'Dpag. bsam. ljon. bṣaṅ'. by the Kulācārya Jñāna-Srī (Mkhan. po. Ye. śes. dpal. a byor.) of Sum. and Ahbras. spuṅs. monastery, was compiled between 1722 and 1747, from quite early original works and documents, like the writings of the Blo. rca. wa-s (Indo-Tibetan bilinguist scholars who flourished between 900 and 1300), the Road Bills of Chinese monk-pilgrims of the early Hva. śaṅ. School, original records of various Indian

dynasties, or historical works of Indian (Māgadha or Mālava) scholars of the 7th and 8th centuries A. D., etc., Sum. pa. Mkhan. po. hardly ever writes anything of his own; he is always quoting from earlier works which he names, the majority of whom are quite ancient; and he is very careful about the authenticity of the materials he has handled. The following quotations will illustrate the historically useful nature of this compilation:—

(i) At the end of a section on ‘General information about Jambu-dvīpa, (its vihāras, cities, sacred places, geography, etc.) he notes—

“Thus far it has been written carefully according to the Blo. rca. wa. s and the authoritative opinions of other writers.”

(ii) At the beginning of a sketch of Buddhistic Church History dealing with the first eight Hierarchs and their contemporary kings and events, he says—

“What follows below is given according to (the information given in) the Road-Bills (or Itineraries) of the Hva. śaṅ monk-pilgrims of China.”

(iii) In sketching post-Buddha dynastic history he says in his introduction—

“Here is described the Later Dynasties beginning from after the Buddha’s death, as given in the ancient records”.—A few lines below he explains that though it is usually said that Aśoka as a Buddhist king was without a rival, and though there was no bigger empire than his, India generally remaining divided into small regions under hereditary chieftains as in Tibet, “yet several written records of the Dynasties of Eastern and Southern India having been ‘found,’ it is

clear from those records that there were other (famous Buddhist) dynasties also."

(iv) In supplementing his account of dynastic history after Buddha, he quotes in extenso from early Indian historians; e.g.—"Thus it has been said, though not in the Sūtras, but as has been written in the *ṭikās*, *vṛttis* and *kārikās* by the Indian paṇḍita Bhaṭa-bhadra." Who this Bhaṭabhadra is we hear from the Paṇḍita himself at the end of the quotation: "In the Aparānta, on the west side of Ujjayinī, in my own native country (i.e., Bhaṭabhadra's), the kings entitled 'Śīla' (Śīlādityas) will rule the kingdom for 300 years (i.e. c. 470-c. 770); thereof the kings called 'Dhāra' and 'Dhruva' (Dhārasenas and Dhruvasenas or D°-bhaṭas) will flourish for 55 years 5 months".

(v) In one passage, incidentally, Kulācārya Jñāna-śrī gives the clearest indication of the historical nature of his entire compilation,—leaving us in no doubt as to the greater value of his works as compared with those of his predecessor Tārānātha, though he was earlier by a century:—

"This 'Ākhyāna' of Bhārata, the Māgadha Paṇḍitas Indrabhadra and Indradatta's and Bhaṭa-bhadra's original records (source books) basing on, Tārānātha's written (Ms.) works (and) 'jana-śruti' (or extracts from Tārānātha's writings read out and heard) often making the basis, (and) by other pure original sources filling up the gaps, has been written."

The Bhadra-kalpa-druma was printed from Tibetan Xylograph by the late Rāi Bāhādur S. C. Dās long ago in 1908; but no critical edition or literal translation of this important work has been attempted

in all these 32 years. I translated certain select and small portions of this voluminous encyclopaedia in the summer vacations of 1936, '37 and '40, and drew up historical notes on them. From these spare-time studies I shall now give *five extracts*, being absolutely faithful literal English translation of the Tibetan originals, and *two addenda*, one of a number of "gleaned" historical points (taken from pp. 84, 87, 88, 89, 92, 93, 97, 99, 101, 102, 105, 106, 108, 109, 110, 115, 130, 135, and 144, of the printed edition of the Bhadrakalpa-druma), and another of relevant passages of the Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa (Jayaswal's edition), both of which provide supplementary and elucidatory information. Thereafter I will append a Chart of Revised Dynastic History of India, which will explain itself when studied along with the above-mentioned extracts and bits of information.

It will be seen finally that the principal new points that emerge here are—(1) an intelligible account of the rise and subsequent history of the Śiśunāga Dynasty, (2) a reasonable version of Later Mauryan history, (3) a hitherto unknown history of the continuance of the Later Mauryas as the Candras-Vamśa in Bengal and parts of Bihar and other adjoining regions, and the entire dynastic history of these Candras kings from C. 250 B.C. to C. 580 A.D., for about 830 years, —to which may be compared the persistence of the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇa, (4) an intelligible account of the relations between (i) the Candras and the Śuṅgas and the Yueh-chi kings, (ii) the Candras and the Kushan kings, (iii) the Candras and the Gupta kings, (5) a fresh version of Gupta dynastic history, which

appears as Licchavi history, and clears up obscurities of succession and relationship, (6) a clear account of the passing of the Candras, of the contemporaries of the last Candras of the 6th century, and of the subsequent political history of Bengal from c. 580 to c. 750, showing the various stages leading through Śaśāṅka and others to Gopāla,—as also some fresh points of Pāla and Sena history (which however I will leave out just now).

[FIVE EXTRACTS]

PART I

Here is described

the later Dynasties beginning from after the Buddha's death (the manner of which has been indicated before):

as in the Earlier Records:—

As described before, in India the Dispenser of the Faith Aśoka's fame was very great. Although it is said that none else could attain (that fame) in the serial succession of kings of Indian dynasties, (and though) the country of India being very extensive, including the Middle Country (Madhya-deśa or Magadha), the East (Prācī) and the South (Dakṣiṇāpatha), small estates were held in hereditary possession, as in Tibet,—yet, several written records of the Dynasties of the East and the South of India having been found (seen or known), it is clear from those records that there were other (paramount and famous) Dynasties also. Of the Middle Country (Magadha) these are (the Dynasties):—

[A.]

From Tārānātha's work (named) "Bhārata-Dharma-Sambhava-Kalpakoṣa":— (*ff. in verse*)

In the House of Puṇya (ka), the kings Darśaka, Suvāhu, Sudhanu and Mahendra; leaving out Camaśa, there were four; in Aśoka's (i.e. Kāla-Aśoka's) Dynasty, Viśaśoka and Sūrasena, Nanda and Mahāpadma, these four.

Thereafter Candragupta; and his grandson (or nephew, 'cha. vo.') Vindusāra.

In the Candra Dynasty there became:

Hari, Akṣa, Jaya, Nema (i), Phaṇī and Bhaṃsa (Haṃsa?); in front of all their names 'Candra' was added.

Srī-Candra, thus called; Dharma, Karma and Brkṣa; Vigama and Kāma; Siddha (Siṃha ?), Bāla, Vimāla; Gobi (Gopī), Lalita; to all of them 'Candra' at the end is added.

If you do not count Vindusāra, there were 19 'Candra'-named kings.

From amongst them Indra-Candra, Jaya-Candra thus called, Dharma-Candra and Karma-Candra, Vigama (-Candra) and Kāma-Candra, Vimāla-Candra (thus called),—in these 7 Candra kings rested fame.

After them Gopī-Candra, the Diṇ-mukta, and Lalita-Candra came. Candra the Tenth called (was) the most celebrated.

This (Dynasty) flourished before the Pāla Dynasty.

Gopāla and Devapāla; Rāsa, Dharma and Vana; Mahī, Mahā and Praiṣṭha; Bheya, Neyā and Āmra; Hasti, Rāma and Yakṣa were (the kings); to all of them

'Pāla' is added. In Pāla Dynasty there were 14 kings.

Kings Agnidatta, Kaṇiṣka, Yakṣa, Aśva, Candra-Gupta, Śrī-Harṣa, Śīla, Harṣa- and Goḍa-(Gauḍa-) Vardhana; Kaṇika and Turuṣka the Mahā-sammata of the Sakas; Buddha-pakṣa (B°-Yakṣa) and Gambhīra-pakṣa (G°-Yakṣa); Dhāra and Dhruva; Phiṣṇu (Viṣṇu).

Siṃha Bharṣi, Pañca Siṃha (or Pañcama S°.), Kāśa, Prakāśa, Mahāsenā Śākya Mahā-bala (or Mahendra) thus called: these (kings) severally became.

Masurakṣi (°kī), Caṇaka, Kṣetra-Pāla, Kṣānti-Pāla, etc.;—these severally intervened in the midst of the Pāla kings.

Lava, Kāśa, Maṇita; Rāthika;—these four (were) Sena (kings).

In the Southern Direction these became (kings): Kala, etc.; Citra-lekha (or C°-varna); Sveta-Su-Candra Śāla-vāhana; Mahendra, Kīrti-sena (or K°-varman) and Vallabha. Kāma, Sukeśa and Candra-sena. Śaṅkara-Siṃha (and his) unfortunate (or fierce) son Vyāghra Buddha-Śruṇa, and Ṣaḍānana (Skanda); Samudra-vikrama, and Pravara-rāja (or Rājendra); Mahendra-potra; Devarāja (or Indra); these several (were) scions of eminent dynasties. (*Verses end here*)

Thus, briefly amongst workers for the Doctrine, there were 4 princes of the family of Puṇya (ka)-rāja (and) Darśaka; from Aśoka four princes; and Candras seven or nine or ten; and Pālas fourteen; and Senas eight; all these severally became kings; their description is as given below:

In the 2nd (dynasty), three (were), severally, siddha-panḍita, dāna-pati (and) śīla-dhara according to 'āgama'; their life and work were towards the

Doctrine.....

[B.]

Thus it has been said, though not in the Tantaras (or Sūtras), but as has been written in the 'ṭikā's on the 'ṣṭi's (or 'kārikā's) by the Indian Paṇḍita Bhaṭa-bhadra:—.....

.....
This also from the aforesaid (work of Bhaṭa-bhadra):.....(*Verses*) By the king Buddha-pakṣa (B°-Yakṣa) the (rank) of clear expounder of the Doctrine was attained. This energetic person of former times became famous.....; though coming of a Brāhmanical family, he was initiated into the Buddhistic Order. He dwelt in the City of Śāketa; and his life extended to 80 years.....

.....
Thus also (from the same):—

(*Verses*) "In the Prācī, adhering to (or along) the Ocean; from there to the extremities of the 'Kāntāra', and to the other side from (beyond) the Southern Lohita; likewise to the North (up to) the 'Snowy' (Mountains of Tibet); in the West the soul-blessing City of Kāśī, likewise the City called 'Agra'; within these (limits) the kings they will be named 'the Five Siṃhas', (and) will be lucid expounders of the Doctrine."

(*Prose*) By such others, practising the Mantras, learned men as well as kings, spiritual instruction will be given.

Besides these (from the same Bhaṭa-bhadra)—After the death of the Teacher, in the 100th year Aśoka (=K°. A°.) will become King in the City of

Kusuma; he will live up to the 150th year (after N°.); in the 87th year (after N°.) he will worship at the Caityas.

After him all the kings will be called truly (really, rightly) Nandas, and will continue for 300 years.

Thereafter king Sūra-sena will wield the empire for 70 years.

Thereafter King Nanda wielded the empire for 56 years. His friends will be adherents of the Brāhmaṇical doctrines.

Thereafter Candragupta will become king. After him his son Vindusāra will enjoy the realm for 70 years. His minister will be Cāṇakya; he will go to hell.

Thereafter the King (A) Śoka (=Dh°.-A°.) will worship at the Caityas in the 76th year.

Thereafter by Puṣya-yogī thus called from the Prācī to the middle of Kāśmīra temples and Caityas, etc., will be burnt and numerous Bhikṣus will be done to death.

Following him subsequently will come the king called Buddha-pakṣa (B°-yakṣa).

His (Buddha-pakṣa's son, by name Gambhīra-pakṣa (G°-yakṣa), will flourish in Pāñcāla.

Following after the Bhikṣu Priya (or Aśoka), Candana-pāla by name will flourish in 300th year.

In the North Direction (Uttarāpatha) Kings called Du-ruṣ-kas will flourish for 300 years. Thereof, Duruṣkas called Mahā-sammata will flourish for 200 years.

In the interior of the Snowy Mountains, in Uttarāpatha, in the country of Lha. ldan. (=Lha. sa.) the king Mānava-deva by name, continued up to 80

years.

In the land of Rgya.-gar. (?) the King called Hiranyagarbha will flourish 150 years in the same country (=Lha. ldan.). (*Verse*) The Bodhisatva Śrī-Mahāvīra, and the 'mahā-dyuti' Mañju-ghoṣa, in those realms will dwell in the form of Kumāra.

In the Aparānta (or West Direction), beyond Ujjayinī, in my (i.e. Bhaṭabhadra's) own country, the Kings named Śīla (=Śīlādityas) will enjoy the kingdom for 300 years.

Thereafter, it is said, the kings called Dhruva (or and Dhāra) will flourish for 55 years 5 months.

There are many sayings about the attainment of Bodhisatva-hood by most of all these (kings).

[C.]

Also from the Tantra of the Abhyudaya of the Nāthas:.....

Thus also:—In that South (-East) Direction will be the capital city of A (Va) -jara-yo-gi-nī by name. A Nāga 'Sādhaka' himself at the approach of his death, by virtue of his 'Yoga-siddhi', made a gift of Kingship to the Cavalier Gopāla; after the death of his (G°. 's) son, the nephew (or grandson) of Pa. sa. ha. na., and others, became Kings.—Thus (it is given in the aforesaid Tantra).

PART II

[A.]

Buddhist Church History
from
Chinese 'Hva. śaṅ.' Monks' Passports.

[Part of the section on 'General Information about Jambu-dvīpa', intended for Tibetan Monk-pilgrims, in Sum. pa. Mkhan. po's compilation 'Dpag. bsam. ljon. bṣaṅ.']

Of China, of the older school of Buddhist monks there ('Hva. śaṅ'.) the Road-Bills (or Passports or Itineraries) according to, is given what follows below:—

From those (sources)—In the Middle Country, after the death of the two great supports of Buddhism, and of Mahā-Kāśyapa, etc., of Ajātaśatru's Dynasty with collateral branches (*or*, in collateral branch), five kings became.—The first of these kings was Darśaka. By that very king (was seen) 5 years of the life-time of the Buddha and 27 years after the Buddha's death; it is said, again, for more than 40 years, over Vaiśālī, Vṛjī, Puṣpa (Kusuma)-pura, in (these) ancient cities, he held sway, and ruled over Magadha. In his time, while the Doctrine was being spread by Ānanda, his son Suvarṇa, having attained the age of 15, was initiated into monk-hood; the king hearing of it worshipped for 5 years Ānanda and his 5,000 bhikṣu disciples. At that time, of the Southern Direction the City (called) 'Kim. mi. li.' -mālā (hailing) from, the brāhmaṇa Bhāradvāja by name, a contemporary evil-minded person (*or*,—also called Jambhala

and Kālaka), a sorcerer, having arrived in Magadha, on all four (sides) of Ratnagiri, groves and lotus ponds four on each (side) and other (illusions) having caused to appear, by Ānanda, by showing elephants, cyclones, rocks and rains, etc., was defeated, and by showing five hundred different miraculous forms of the body (he) converted to the Faith the brāhmaṇa Bhāradvāja and his 500 disciples, and they saw the Truth.

Again, on another occasion, by Sāṇa-vāsī also, the 'arhat'-ship was attained, Ānanda and his followers being worshipped; after the Doctrine had been protected by Ānanda for the period of 40 years, he received appointment to the Chair of the Hierarch.

Later on, by Ānanda, for the sake of 500 Rṣis, in the middle of the Gaṅgā an island was made to appear, in the middle of the day in an hour's time; they all were ordained and appointed to 'arhat'-ship, and became famous as 'Mādhyandinas'. Thereafter Ānanda died.—His (body) relics (taken out) after the extinction of the fire which dissolved his self, like a lump of jewels in two portions were divided, as it were in two sprayful (foaming) waves scattered by the hand, between the Vṛjīs of the North, and of the South Ajātaśatru (who) carrying away (those relics) worshipped (them).

Next year this King also died; and though reborn in hell, like the silken magic knot untied, then and there he was saved and was reborn in a divine body, and attained entry into 'pari-nirvāṇa', through the favour of Sāṇa-vāsī: thus it is said.

By Darśaka's son Suvāhu the empire was pro-

tected, and the Saṃgha was worshipped, for 7 years. Seven or eight years before that, in the reign of his father (Darśaka), Pana and Nava by name of two vicious men (or thieves) the hands were cut off; at that time, blessings reversed (=curses) scattering (uttering) their bodies (lives) were transformed: on Gurpā Hill being reborn as Yakṣas when they began to commit injuries, his 1000 'arhat' followers together with their relatives Śāṇavāsī invited from Śrāvastī to Magadha, and subdued those (two).

Thereafter, about 3 years later, the Chief of the Mādhyandinas, together with 10,000 'arhats', at Vārāṇasī while residing, in that region, at the time of an alms-giving festival (ceremony), by the heavenly path, with followers, in the North Direction on the Hill Uśiri arriving, by the patron benefactor Aja and others was worshipped; 'arhats' 44,000 assembled and resided (there).

Suvāhu's son Sudhanu, while he was protecting the empire for 23 years, the Mādhyandina (Chief) miraculously arriving in Kāśmīra, conquered (converted) the Nāga King Auduṣṭa; asking for a grant of land, when (he) was offered as much as could be covered by a 'paryaṅka' (or 'padma')-'āsana', through (his) miraculous powers by the 'paryaṅkāsaṇa' 9 provinces were brought under (its cover); thereupon 500 of his followers also arrived from Uśira and dwelt there. Again, many people of Kāśmīra, being led by (his) miraculous power, arriving on the Gandhamādana mountains, conquered (converted) the Nāgas; (there) for cultivation of Saffron when offered (land) as much as could be covered by the shadow of a

monk's robes, the monk's robes became transformed into a spacious one, and all the seeds of the Saffron grown under its shadow were gathered by all of them, and again they returned to Kāsmīra and covered it with Saffron (beds). There having preached the Doctrine for about 20 years, and having resided there, he passed away, and became very famous from Kāsmīra to Madhyadeśa as well. While Mādhyandina had protected the Doctrine for 15 years, Śāṇavāsī, with many followers (supporting), counted him also as fit for inclusion within the 'Line of 8 Good Trustees' (8 Hierarchs after Buddha).

In that time, by Śāṇavāsī, in the 6 capital cities of Āryāvarta, was accomplished the spread of the Doctrine. During that time, Sudhanu, having held the empire for 23 years, died. Thereafter his attendants (courtiers) and favourite devoted followers, numbering about 2000, through (the grace of) Śāṇavāsī, entered 'pravrajyā,' and the Cemetery of Śītavana made their summer residence. They, in that Cemetery, in the time of 'obstruction', in the time of going into the cultivated plains, by austere 'samādhi' attained 'arhat'-ship; sooner or later the 'arhats' became (swelled to) about 10,000 in number (there). Thereafter by Śāṇavāsī the incense-dealer Gupta's son Upagupta was made 'upasampanna', and he was appointed to 'arhat'-ship, and making over the Doctrine to his charge, in suitable time he passed away.

Sudhanu's son Mahendra held sway for 9 years, and his son Camaśa protected (reigned) for 22 years. During that time Upagupta, to the North of the Gaṅgā in Tīrahūti's Western part, in the country of

Videha, converted the 'gṛha-pati' Vasu-sāra into a 'dāna-pati' (patron of Buddhism), and while going into summer residence, ordained a thousand fortunate (persons) into 'arhat'-ship. Also, visiting the Rāja-Gandhora (°la), many persons to the realisation of the Truth he led.

Again, in the city of Mathurā in the North-West of the region neighbouring to Madhyadeśa, (he) arrived; the champion athletes and dancers Bha-naḍa (°ṭa) and Naḍa (°ṭa), by these two, during the time of Sāṇavāsī, was consecrated (erected), with great pomp and noise, on the top of the Hill called 'Mgo. wo.' (Uśira), the 'vihāra' called 'Nāṭa-vīra', and was presented to (the Saṃgha); there, to lakhs of men while preaching the Doctrine during residence there, by the Sinful Māra, in the city, for 6 days, in serial order, rice and clothes and silver and gold and precious gems of seven kinds having caused to be rained down, and changing dances of gods and 'nāgas' having shown (by magic), all the followers of Upagupta one by one were enticed into the City, even one not remaining behind. At that time Upagupta also thither arriving, of each of the dancing (gods and nāgas) on the heads and necks, flower garlands, one each, throwing, the Māra's magic having destroyed, (their) bodies and clothes, etc., disgusting, evil-smelling and evil-tasting having shown (made), all became disgusted and turned back, and by the Māra together with his host, pardon was solicited. At that time and at that place, being questioned, (he said): "By me, in former times, unto the Buddha also, while (he was) a Bodhisatva, evil was designed",

(thus) he recounted; “by Upagupta, of myself what is called the ‘dharma-kāya’ of (as spoken of in) the Doctrine, and ‘śūnyatā’, though has been seen (realised), (of myself) the body formal has not been seen”; “that (body) show (me)”, thus requested by him also, (this) was shown, by assuming diverse forms, (and then Māra) passed into invisibility. Thereafter, by Upagupta for 5 days rice, etc., was caused to be showered; on the 6th day the Doctrine was preached; on the 7th day, 18 lakhs of men were successfully shown the Truth. By these, as they attained ‘arhat’-ship, by each of them into a large Rock-cave 4-inches long pieces of wood each throwing, that cave was filled up, as is well known.—Since the passing of the Buddha, in the interest of this ‘saṃsāra’ nothing better was done, as is well known.

During the same time, in the Eastern Direction in Prācī, one Ripuñjaya Guru thus called flourished; in him the king Mahendra having believed, in the country of Baṅgāla the monastery called ‘Karaṇḍa-vihāra’ presented (to the Saṃgha). While residing there, by ‘arhat’ Yaśo-rāja and others many disciples were made.

After this Mahendra died, and Camaśa was raised to the throne.—Not long afterwards, in Magadha, to the brāhmaṇa Mahābala’s wife the brāhmaṇī Syāmā-vihagī, when she had attained 120 years of age, were born three sons, Jaya and Subha and Kalyāṇa. Respectively (they) having believed in (the teachings of) Íśvara, Kapila-muni and Buddha, afterwards through Ripuñjaya Guru the defects of Íśvara etc. and the enlightened knowledge of Buddha having

learnt, placed faith in Buddha. Thereafter, of the three brothers, by the two elder, respectively, the Dharma-Cakra-Sthāna (or °-stūpa) of Vārāṇasī and the relic temple (or stūpa) in Veṇuvana of Rājagṛha, were consecrated (constructed and dedicated). By the youngest, the 'Perfume Chamber' called Gandhola of Vajrāsana having been completed, it was wished to finish the construction of the relic temple (or stūpa) of Mahābodhi, within 7 days; (but he) could not attain (the result), when 6 days had passed, after 'cutting' the door (gateway); "by hammering at the door next day, I will open (the temple)",—thus he said to himself. "If not satisfied, I, tonight, indeed must commit suicide; except myself, in this country, Buddha in original form has been perceived by not a single one; (so) I must satisfy myself as to the likeness or unlikeness (of the statue)",—thus he revolved in his mind. At the time of opening the door, the architects (or sculptors), having (once) appeared, became invisible (or disappeared), each some part of the body (statue) leaving incomplete,—it is said. His mother also, without throwing a ray of light (i.e. encouraging), without holding entertainments (to propitiate the Saints), without (uttering) blessings (according to 'śīla'), etc., she said: "it looks like 'karma-phala' of other (births)", and became glad; that night, in fitness of time, she died. Thereafter her son Kalyāṇa on the wayside burning-light-like precious gems such as 'aśma-garbha' and 'indra-nīla' etc. obtained as prize (or compensation); while he was intending to set (these) into the eyes and the circle of hair between the eyebrows of that Statue, of itself

the holes appeared and the offering (or setting) was made. The king Rathika in the upper parts (i.e. towers etc.) of the temple, in that very night, by displaying lights (illuminating) became famous.

Thereafter, in the land of Ujjayinī, flourished the brāhmaṇa Dhītika by name; together with 500 disciples, through (the grace of) Upagupta, he became ordained, and after 7 days by all of them 'arhat'-ship was attained. Later on in that region by Upagupta the Doctrine was imparted to 16 cities, and (he thus) worked for the benefit of humanity. Again, by the King of the country of Thod. dkar. (Turkestan) named Minara, not knowing virtue from vice, by burning cloths and jewels while homage and worship was being paid unto the gods of the sky once upon a time, (those) gods of the sky coming (down) (themselves) in a body, in large numbers were appointed to 'arhat'-ships.—Again, in the Eastern Direction, the rich brāhmaṇa of Kāmarū (pa), Siddha by name, together with many thousands of disciples, while once was worshipping the sun, the Sun-god in his own person (svarūpa), appeared and professed the Faith; and by him (Siddha) the 'vihāra' called 'Mahā-Caitya' (or °-vihāra) was presented (to the Saṃgha), and while in residence there (he) led many people to the perception of the Truth.—Then, in Mālava of the West, by a rich brāhmaṇa Vimada by name, every day by thousands of horn-growing (animals) fire-offering was made; one day, of oxen (or cows) white and ruddy ten thousand by flesh and blood in order to make fire-offering, (he) invited 'ṛṣis', 'bhi. ku.'s, 'ra. kā. sa.'s, etc.; while he was

about to make the offering, Dhītika arrived there, and he (Vimada) could not slaughter a single cow, and the fire also did not burn; having come to know that it was his magic influence, he (Vimada) threw stones and cudgels, etc. (at him), (but) all became changed into flowers; having seen (this), (Vimada) believed and gave up fire sacrifice, and became merged in the joy of the 'dharma'; on the remains (ruins) of the 'gr̥ha-pati' Ghoṣa's (or Mañju-ghoṣa's) 'ārāma', having erected a temple (or 'vihāra'), (he) began to strive for the seven merits which accrue from (the right application of) wealth.

At that time, in the Prācī, in the land called Aṅga, to a 'gr̥ha-pati' although the fruits of a 'kalpa-druma' fell down as jewels, having no son by worshipping Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa he obtained a son, and the name of Kṛṣṇa was given to him. He having grown up, in order to bring gems from across the ocean, voyaged seven times; in the final voyage, on the way back from Samudra-dvīpa, by the relatives (attendants) of the Rākṣasī Krauñca-Kumārī by name while he was seized, he offered prayers into Ārya Dhītika; he arriving by the aerial way, from that place accomplished his rescue; arriving in Jambu-dvīpa, by the merchant (caravan or company) for 3 years the Saṃgha was worshipped; and he was ordained through Dhītika, and while he attained to 'arhat'-ship, by Dhītika as 'Ārya Kṛṣṇa, the Master of the Doctrine' was hailed (or installed to dignity). He (Dhītika) himself passed away in Ujjayinī.

During that time, by Kalyāṇakara of Kāśmīra spreading heretical views though was done, (he) was

won over by (Ārya) Kṛṣṇa. Again, the King of Siṃhala, Āsana-Siṃha-Kośa by name, through a merchant, from Buddha to Kṛṣṇa the biographies of having heard, when invited Ārya-Kṛṣṇa, he arrived miraculously together with 500 followers; there he dwelt for 3 months and succeeded in spreading the Doctrine.

Thereafter, in Bha. ru. Kaccha., Kapila (or Pāṇḍu)-Siṃha's lineage in, of the king called Darśana's son Sudarśana by name, a vigorous man, while once entering into the midst of pleasure-groves (with 50 beautiful consorts), on the way the 'arhat' Sukāyana by name together with followers interviewed; hearing the Doctrine (he) became ordained and attained 'arhat'-ship. Later on by Ārya-Kṛṣṇa the (care of the) Doctrine was made over to him (Sudarśana), and he (Ārya-Kṛṣṇa) died at Kuśanara in the North.

At that time in the Western Direction in Sin. tu. (°dhu), by the Yakṣiṇī Hīṅgulācī by name mischief was being caused to all beings. By the people of that country, bullocks-six-yoked (i.e. three) 'wooden-horses' (i.e. carts) full of eatables, etc., (viz.) horses, men and women, respectively, were obligatorily offered as 'cakes'. But she was subdued by Sudarśana. Later on, Nāgas and Yakṣas 500 and more also he subdued; (also) all the Dynasties of the South and Mahā-rāṣṭra; (also) in the (small) Islands for the benefit of the people (he) established the Doctrine.

The above is of the 7 or 8 Early Hierarchs the manner of becoming.

Of the above (Dh.° and Ā.°-Kṛ.°) in the (same) times, the King Aśoka (K°.-A°.) became. This also (is said):—In the North, to the 'Ru.' (Senā-nī) Dynasty belonging, in the country of Campa-arāṇa, the King of the Sūrya-vamśa, Haritāśva by name, had 6 sons and an entourage of 500 ministers; he, once upon a time, a certain merchant's wife united with, and she became pregnant; the King's mother had (in the meantime) died; on the day of purification from 'śoka' being born, the name of 'Aśoka' was given (to her child); by the brāhmaṇa astrologers 'this (boy) will become king', (thus) confidentially all the ministers were instructed. He, when he grew up, in the Arts ('Kalā') and the 8 Skills ('Siddhi') etc., became proficient.

At that time, Nepāla and Kāśmīra's hillmen's many rebellions in order to subdue, the son (young prince) Aśoka with warriors being sent, all under control was subdued (brought). The King was delighted. 'What do you desire' being questioned, 'To me by the brothers trouble is given; be pleased to grant me the City of Pāṭaliputra as dwelling place',—according to this request having granted, (he) resided there.—Thereafter, in Magadha, King Camaka (śa) died; by his 12 sons the kingdom not having been able to obtain (hold), the brāhmaṇa minister Dharmaśīla while firmly holding the realm (*or*,—the brāhmaṇa minister Gambhīra-śīla while holding the kingdom), 'Ne. mi. ta.' [prob. wr. for 'Ne. ma-ahi. rta.' Haritāśva] also becoming an enemy, on the banks of the Gaṅgā by the 6 sons (of Haritāśva), (Gambhīra-śīla) was given battle. During that time the

father (Haritāśva) died, and that day Aśoka was appointed King; five (provincial) governments and Aṅga, these (six), and (their) six capital cities, by the 6 (Princes) were taken charge of; each of them becoming a ruler, together with 500 'amātyas', in their own country not returning stayed there (as governors).

At that time, by the 6 brothers, according to age serially, to Lokāyatas, Maheśvara, Viṣṇu, Vedas, Antevāsi-Nirgranthas (Nagna-Kṣapaṇakas), and Brahma-cārins, paid respect. The 7th (brother) the youngest (i.e. Aśoka), the goddess Umā, together with the Mātṛkās of the 'Śmaśāna', worshipped; for delighting in sensual pleasures he became known as Kāmāśoka. His 6 brothers, with (their respective) 500 ministers not agreeing, quarrelled, all of them; he (i.e. Aśoka) (thereupon), from the Snowy Ranges (Tibet) to Vindhyācala, to power grew.

At that time he in life-slaughter etc. delighted; particularly, through the Ṛṣi Gokaṇṇa by name, by offering sacrifice by killing 10,000 men, would attain salvation, thus religion perverse propounding, (he) erected ('citi') a sacrificial altar (yajña-śālā). Of Ti. rā. hu. ti. a Caṇḍāla ('Dulè') as Executioner having appointed, when about 5000 he had killed, he came to be known as Caṇḍāśoka. —About that time, Ānanda's disciple Arhat Yaśa by name, his disciple Dharma-śīla, a 'yogācāri', without knowing, at the sacrificial hall when arrived, being about to be killed,—'after 7 days kill me' this request according to, being left (spared),—"by me flesh, blood, bones and intestines, much of these having been seen, impermanence etc.

of 16 kinds having been contemplated, the destruction of grief has been attained", —in (sesame) oil and butter though cooked (boiled), he did not die. That (executioner) to the king having requested (he) arrived there; "men 10,000 not arriving at up till, in-comers all kill", this (verbal) order was issued; the king also prepared to kill (this monk); when both of them struggled, by that passionless 'arhat' miraculously he was subdued.—By some, "Of 'Rna. sgra. can. (Tura-nāda or Bherī-ghoṣa) 'Tīrthikas' many at the time of killing, a barber's son who was an ordained monk arriving (there), in seed-oil and butter to be boiled put though (he was), was not killed,—by him (he) was subdued", it is said.—Thereafter he repented, (and) of the Prācī in the Karaṇḍa-vihāra (°-ārāma), the Arhat Yaśa's standard (or pillar) of victory ('jaya-stambha' or °-dhvaja') inaugurated, worshipped 30,000 or more (members of the) Saṃgha, and strove for washing away his sins.

During that time (in the meanwhile), to Ratna-dvīpa merchants who were sent returning again on the shores of the Ocean when arrived, by the waves all the gems were carried into the Ocean; one future-knowing 'arhat' being approached,—“the deity of the House of Dreams howsoever instructs, according to that you should do”,—thus advised, accordingly, through his magic power, in dream, by the gods of heaven and earth (was said): “if you worship the Buddha and the Saṃgha, the Nāgas (of the sea) will be subdued”,—according to that instruction, to 60,000 'arhats' or more and the 'tri-ratna' for 3 months offering worship, by good luck and by the grace of

that (foreseeing) 'arhat', by the Nāgas all those articles once again to the door became carried.

Again, by the king (Aśoka), by war of the Yakṣa-mantra-siddhas and the Yakṣas, etc.,—in the North, Tibet, Khotan and behind it the lower slopes of the Snowy Ranges, and in the East, South and West, in the middle of the Ocean 50 or more islands, under power was brought.—By the Arhat Yaśa, the King's instructions delivered according to, Rājagṛha's Caitya-underneath Ajātaśatrū's (collected) (Buddha's) body-relics' portion of great measure, which, expanded (or divided) into 6 scores (of portions), was surrounded by perennial streams (*or*, moats ever full of water), and iron wheels blazing with fire was placed within,—thence the encircling waters overcoming, a great measure having been taken away, to the 8 holy places, and Vajrāsana, Khotan, etc., and in all quarters of Jambudvīpa, Yakṣa emissaries were commissioned; by all of them assistance was rendered; the Buddha's relics (burnt bones)—containing stūpas within one day 84,000 were erected, and worship's continuity (extensivity) was begun. That good deed (puṇya) supreme 'bodhi-satva'-hood's cause resulted in.

At Pāṭaliputra the Saṃgha assembling, the 'arhats' of heaven and other (arhats) on earth serving and honouring widely and greatly having done, clothes worth one million (coins) (he) offered; of Kāśmīra and Turkestan the Saṃgha unto gold (coins) one hundred millions (he) offered, to the resident (bhikṣus) of the Prācī 96 millions *plus* 4 millions (of gold coins), in lieu (i.e. of the latter part) even the kingdom (i.e. its revenues) for 2 days offering, etc.,—

by these efforts towards Dharma, Dharma-rāja Aśoka, thus famous became.

Finally, when he was sick, by a maid servant by 'cāmara' (tail-fan) with handle of gems while being fanned, (this) dropping down from her hand, struck the king, and he became angry. His life being compounded, in Pāṭali-putra itself, by a lake, he was born as (*or*, took the form of) a Nāga; by the Arhat Yaśa having been instructed (in) the Dharma, his life was changed and (he) was born as a god in 'sukhāvati' (*or* 'tuṣita'); —thus it is reputed in Tibet; on this subject there are 7 'avadānas', out of which two have been rendered into Tibetan.—By some, "Aśoka while young, Dhītika's life-time's latter part in, while he was behaving viciously, Kāla (was called); and while (he was) Dharma-rāja, (it was) in the time of the protection of the Doctrine by Sudarśana; likewise, when shortly after Sudarśana passed away the King also died", it is said.

Now then, to Aśoka [i.e. A°-Maurya] sons eleven were (born); of them Kuṇāla by name became the foremost; yet Aśoka's Queen, Tiṣya-rakṣitā by name, for that son lusted, and wanted to rush into transgression; but by Kuṇāla she was not taken seriously. Later on, to the King, when he became ill with diarrhoea and vomiting ('atisāra'), by that queen pale garlic medicine having applied to the roots (*or* germs) (of the illness) was made hale; by the King, "whatever you desire, whenever you require, at that time it will be granted", thus was orally undertaken. When once, in the North-West direction, in Aśmā-parānta (=Hill-Frontiers) by name, a minor chief ('Uparāja') Hasti-

karna by name, became a rebel, (and) when Kuṇāla, arriving with warriors, captured him,—by the Queen, “whatever desired being granted—thereof the time now has come” (thinking), “rule over the kingdom for 7 days be pleased to grant”, thus requested, by the King it was granted. By her, “Kuṇāla’s eyes cast out”, to this effect a writ with the royal seal was issued; by the son, when it was seen, without becoming displeased, to draw (the eyes) out allowed, on transience meditated, and attained entry into permanence. Thereafter, without any entourage, carrying a ‘vīṇā’ and singing songs, wandering here and there, when once he arrived in his own place, at that time even by the elephants etc. by his voice he was face-known (recognised), and by the King also to be his son was known; by the Queen such was done becoming also known, while the Queen was about to be burnt in fire, by the son it was prevented; by the power of truth being explained, his eyes (sight) also became (i.e. was regained). Thereafter he became ordained and attained ‘arhat’-ship; when he did not accept the empire, to his son adopting the white robes, Vītaśoka by name, the kingdom was made over.

In that time, in Oḍiviśa the brāhmaṇa Ghapa by name flourished, and worshipped the Tri-ratna; in particular, in accordance with the instructions of gods in dream, (to) the ‘arhat’ Dattaka (or Puṣya-datta) and other ‘ācāryas’ (or ‘āryas’) 80,000 for 3 years (he) paid worship; by the gods in his house showers of gems being rained, each day millions of ‘bhikṣus’ were made satisfied.

Thereafter Vītaśoka's son King Indrasena by name Vaiśravaṇa's queen (consort) Śrī-Dākinī (°-Yoginī) propitiating and wealth and prosperity obtaining while reigning, to many Saṃghas honour and service did; 3 years' period for to many Caityas while (he was) paying worship, in the North in Gāndhāra the Arhat Kāśyapa the Junior did the work of expounding the Doctrine. During that time at Mathurā by the brāhmaṇa Yaśomant also, 'Śarāvati', thus called Vihāra was constructed, and Arhat Dhṛtarāṣṭra etc. to millions of 'bhikṣus' rendered religious service.

At that time, in the 3rd convocation deemed necessary to be called, among the host of 'Mūla-Śrāvakas' the head (leader) of the dissenters (separatists), the starter of aggressive fights (violence), the merchant's son Mahendra (or Mahādeva) by name from Maḍa hailed (arrived); the perpetrator of the three measureless (i.e. capital) offences, that (man) having gone to Kāśmīra repented; he meditated and entered into 'samādhi,' even though he was thrown waves on (i.e. assailed) by the Māra, and by all (the Assembly) he was taken to be an 'arhat'. At that time, with wealth and honour increasing, and together with many followers, to Śarāvati (-vihāra) having gone, (he) followed the Prātimokṣa Sūtra.

"The gods by 'avidyā' delude; but the Path emerges from the perpetual sayings (voice) of the (Buddha); all the doubters by the others (i.e. believers) shall be led (settled)"—this indeed by the Buddha was taught.

Thus being allowed, while he was re-instated by the senior as well as junior monks, "these verses of the Sūtras are or not are (authoritative or authentic)",—thus wrangled (still).

After his death, Bhikṣu-bhadra by name, becoming an incarnation of Māra, the purport of the commandments going against, created doubts (*or* increased dissenters); the others without giving answer to, and without knowing the truth (i.e. in ignorance of the Doctrine), and being of two minds, being at the same time a learned man, by his own (powers) kept alive (his false doctrine); and (his own) 5 'Āgamas' (basic doctrines, 'mūla-tatvas') while preaching, 'this is the doctrine' saying, increased the conflict. At that time of various sayings (passages) of the Sūtras while giving readings, the manner of recitation only a little attaining, the words long or short without agreeing (*or* being sure of) (as to the meaning), (such things) happened.

Reviews of books

THE PHILOSOPHY OF AESTHETIC PLEASURE. By P. Pañchāpageśa Śāstrī, Vyākaraṇa-Sāhitya-Vedānta-Śiromaṇi, M. O. L., of the Department of Sanskrit, Annamalai University, with a foreword by Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppusvāmi Śāstrī, M.A., $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. XXIII + 324, published by Annamalai University, Annamalainagar, Madras (May, 1940).

This is a valuable study of the philosophy of aesthetic sentiment, submitted and approved as thesis for the M. O. L. degree of Madras University. The synthetic outlook Indian thinkers had in every branch of knowledge, whether they discussed medicine or grammar or poetry, always led them to dive deep into the far-reaching philosophical implications of the subject, to grasp it in its fundamental relations to the underlying principles of the universe. India developed, therefore, a philosophy of literary criticism which embodies striking psychological and metaphysical insight. The work under review is a scholarly attempt to understand that philosophy and present it to English readers. The author brings together for this purpose the views of many Sanskrit literary critics, ancient and modern, famous and obscure, interprets them and evaluates them critically to bring out their merits and defects. Comparisons are also made at times to views of western literary critics to

show similarities between ancient and modern views.

The materials collected and interpreted are vast and they do much credit to the author, and his teacher Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppusvāmī Sāstrī, the doyen of oriental research in the South, under whose inspiration the work was undertaken. Annamalai University deserves congratulation on the valuable publication.

It should not be forgotten however that much valuable work has been done in modern times in the West by philosophers and psychologists to understand the nature of emotions in general and the aesthetic sentiment in particular. The Indian Alāṅkāra and Bhakti Sāstras still remain a comparatively virgin field for research in the light of up-to-date philosophical and psychological researches of the West, and it invites the attention of those who are competent to utilize these modern researches as well as the relevant Sanskrit literature on the subject.

D. M. DATTA

Notes of the Quarter

A meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society was held in the Society's office on Sunday the 17th November, 1940 at 8-30 a. m.

Present

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. Fazl Ali (in the Chair).

The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. Sullivan, s. j.

Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar.

Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on the 11th August, 1940.

2. Passed the monthly accounts for the months July to September 1940.

3. Read correspondence in connection with the purchase of Tanjur.

Authorised Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri to go into the matter directly with the Tibetan Bank's Agent at Calcutta.

4. Read letter No. 4-3/342 dated the 3rd September, 1940 received from the Director of Kannada Research, Dharwar.

Resolved that exchange be deferred till the

actual publications of the Kannada Research Institution are available.

5. Read letter No. Pub. 616/22 dated the 27th September, 1940 received from the Registrar, Calcutta University asking for loan of some inscription blocks.

Resolved that the request be acceded to.

6. Read letter dated the 14th August, 1940 from Sir Hugh Macpherson expressing his desire to discontinue his membership of the Society owing to war conditions.

Resolved that in view of his services to the Society Sir Hugh Macpherson be invited to accept an Honorary Membership of the Society.

7. Considered exchange with the Bihar Sanskrit Sanjivan Patrika.

Resolved that exchange be permitted.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI
Honorary General Secretary

List of members of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society on 31st December, 1940

Honorary Members

1. 1936 Burn, Sir Richard, K.T., C.S.I., 9 Staverton Road, Oxford.
2. 1936 Coomaraswamy, Dr. A. K., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.
3. 1919 Foucher, Monsieur A., Professor, University of Paris, Paris.
4. 1916 Frazer, Sir James G., D.C.L., LL.D., LITT.D., Trinity College, Cambridge, England.
5. 1920 Gait, Sir E. A., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., PH.D., I.C.S. (RETD.) The Croft, Park Hill, Ealing, London.
6. 1916 Grierson, Sir George, K.C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., I.C.S., (RETD.), Rath Farnham, Camberly, Surrey, England.
7. 1920 Konow, Dr. Sten, Ethnographic Museum, Oslo, Norway.
8. 1936 Lanman, Prof. C. R., 9 Farrar Street, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.
9. 1926 Oldham, C.E.A.W., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.), 21, Courtfield Road, London, S.W. 7.
10. 1934 Sankrityayana, Rev. Rahul, Patna.
11. 1919 Thomas, F.W., M.A., HON. PH.D., F.R.S., Boden Professor of Sanskrit, University of Oxford.
12. 1919 Walsh, E.H.C., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.), c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., Cox's & King's Branch, Pall Mall, London S. W.

Life Members

1. 1918 Das, Mr. P. R., Barrister-at-Law, Patna.
2. 1917 Deo, Raja Dharanidhar Indra, Feudatory Chief of Bonai State, P.O., Bonaigarh (Orissa).

3. 1929 Deo, Raja Narayana Prasad, *Ruling Chief of Bandh State.*
4. 1918 Jalan, Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna, *Patna City.*
5. 1933 Lall, Babu Hira, *Benares*
6. 1920 Maharaja Bahadur Guru Mahadeva Asram Prasad Sahi, *Hathwa (Saran).*
7. 1928 Prasad, Mr. Ajit, M.A., LL.B., *Advocate, Ajitasram, Lucknow.*
8. 1918 Raja Bahadur Sir, R. N. Bhanja Deo, K.T., O.B.E., *Kanika (Orissa).*
9. 1918 Shah, Mr. Hiralal Amritlal, 8 *Chowpatty Seaface, Dahya Bhai Buildings Block B, 4th floor, Bombay, 7.*
10. 1924 Singh, The Hon'ble Raja Sir Raghunandan Prasad, *Monghyr.*
11. 1916 Singh, Rai Bahadur Harihar Prasad, *Arrah.*
12. 1916 Singh, Raja Radhikaraman Prasad, M.A., *Surajpura (Shahabad).*
13. 1913 Singh, Rao Bahadur Rudra Pratap, *Sonbarsa State, Bhagalpur.*
14. 1928 Sinha, Mr. Mahendra Prasad, *Sub-Deputy Magistrate, Madhepura.*

Ordinary Members

A

1. 1928 Acharya, P., B.Sc., *State Archaeologist, Mayurbhanj State, P.O. Baripada.*
2. 1927 Ahmad, Hafiz Shamsuddin, M.A., *Patna College, Patna.*
3. 1916 Aiyangar, R. B. Dr. Krishnaswami, M.A., Ph.D., 43, *Brodies Road, Mylapore, Madras.*
4. 1915 Aiyangar, R. B. K. V. Rangaswami, *Vasumati Vilas, Rangachari Road, Mylapore (Madras).*
5. 1935 Ali, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. Fazl, K.T., *High Court, Patna.*
6. 1939 Ambastha, Gadadhar Prasad, *Village Banni, P.O. Mahesh-Khunti, District Monghyr.*

B

7. 1932 Bakhle, Vidyasagara Sadasiva, M.A., LL.B., *Advocate, 276 Yadava Gopal Peth, Satara City.*
8. 1936 Bakhshi, Jayanti Lal, *Secretary, Watson Museum, Rajkot.*
9. 1920 Batheja, Prof. H. R., M.A., I.E.S., *Principal, G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur.*
10. 1924 Bhandarkar, Dr. D. R., *Post Graduate Dept., Calcutta University, Calcutta.*
11. 1924 Bhattacharya, Benoytosh, *Director, Oriental Institute, Kothi Buildings, Baroda.*
12. 1918 Bhide, H. B., *Dewanpur Road, Navapark, Bhavnagar.*

C

13. 1938 Cameron, Rev. Allan, M.A., *Principal, Scottish Churches College, Calcutta.*
14. 1928 Chattopadhyaya, K. C., *Lecturer, Allahabad University, Allahabad.*
15. 1931 Chaudhuri, P., I.C.S., *5 Sikandara Road, New Delhi.*

D

16. 1925 Datta, Kalikinkar, M.A., PH.D. *Lecturer, Patna College, Patna.*
17. 1928 Deo, Tekait Nripendra Narayan Singh, *Seraikela State, Singhbhum.*
18. 1929 Dhruva, A. B., M.A., *Ahmedabad.*

G

19. 1918 Gupta, Shiva Prasad, *Seva Upavana, Kasi.*

H

20. 1936 Haque, S. M. Moinul, M.A., O.B.E., *Principal, B. N. College, Patna.*

21. 1927 Heras, Rev. H., S. J., M.A., *St. Xavier's College, Bombay.*
22. 1920 Hill, J. L., M.A., *Patna College, Patna.*
23. 1935 Hubback, H. E. Sir, J. A., K.C.S.I., I.C.S., *Governor, Orissa.*

J

24. 1937 Jalan, Hiralal, *Quila, Patna City.*
25. 1923 James, Sir J. F. W., KT., I.C.S. (RETD.), *Tamar Bank, Saltash, Cornwall, England.*
26. 1933 Jha, Audh Bihari, M.A., *Advocate, Patna.*
27. 1925 Jha, Lakshmikant, B.L., *Advocate, High Court, Patna.*
28. 1937 Johnston, E. H., M.A., D.LITT., *Boden Professor of Sanskrit, 23 Linton Road, Oxford.*

K

29. 1928 Khan Bahadur Syd. Muhammad Ismail, *Patna City.*
30. 1938 Khan Bahadur Syd. Abu Nasar Muhammad Umar, *District Magistrate, Saran, Chupra.*

M

31. 1915 McPherson, Sir H., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.)
c/o Messrs. Grindley & Co. Ltd., 54, Parliament Street, London, S.W. 1.
32. 1939 Maharathi, Upendra, Pustak Bhandar, *Laberiaserai, Darbhanga.*
33. 1920 Mahatha, Rai Bahadur Krishna Deva Narayan,
Muzaffarpur.
34. 1927 Majumdar, Bimanbehari, *B. N. College, Patna.*
35. 1920 Majumdar, Dr. R. C., *Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, Dacca.*
36. 1920 Manuk, P. C., Barrister-at-Law. *Advocate, High Court, Patna.*
37. 1939 Mehta, Virasen, *Udaipur.*
38. 1927 Mishra, Pandit Janardan, M.A., *B. N. College, Patna.*

39. 1933 Mishra, Ganga Shankar, M.A., *Librarian, Benares Hindu University.*
40. Misra, Umesh, D.LITT., *Allahabad University, Allahabad.*
41. 1920 Mitra, K. P., M.A., B.L., *D. J. College, Monghyr.*
42. 1940 Moran, Rev. Marshall D., S. J., *Principal, St. Xavier's, Patna.*
43. 1929 Mukerji, Prof. A, 10, *Bol. Guozdnikovskiy, Apt. 202, Moscow.*

N

44. 1940 Nagar, M.M., M.A., *Curzon Museum, Mattra.*
45. 1915 Noor, The Hon'ble Sir Khwaja Muhammad, *Patna.*

P

46. 1936 Pal, M. N., B. A., B.L., *Advocate, High Court, Patna.*
47. 1937 Pandit, Ramchandra, *Bank of Behar, Patna.*
48. 1915 Perier, Most Rev. F., S.J., *Archbishop of Calcutta, 32, Park Street, Calcutta.*
49. 1940 Petech, Professor Dr. L., *via Polonia 7, Rome, Italy.*
50. 1928 Prasad, Biswanath, M.A., *Professor, Patna College, Patna.*
51. 1926 Prasad, Mahabir, B.L., *Pleader, Chapra.*
52. 1928 Prasad, Nageswar, M.A., B.L., *Advocate, Patna.*

R

53. 1934 Rajaguru, Pandit Hemraj Sharma, C.I.E., *Dhokatala, Kathmandu, Nepal.*
54. 1924 Ramdas, G., B.A., *Sri Ramchandra Vilas, Jeypore, Vizagapatam.*
55. 1927 Ranganathan, S. R., *Librarian, Madras University, Madras.*
56. 1915 Ray, Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal, *Diwan, Bonaigarh State, Bonaigarh P.O., Orissa.*
57. 1937 Rev. Pandit Bisheshwar Nath, *Sumer Public Library, Jodhpur.*

58. 1924 Richards, F. J., 1 *A, Collingham Road, S.W. 5, London.*
 59. 1925 Rohatgi, Binayakrishna, *Dhauhpura Kotbi, Begampur, Patna City.*
 60. 1915 Roy, Rai Bahadur S.C., M.A., B.L., *Ranchi.*

S

61. 1935 Sahay, S. N., *Barrister-at-Law, Patna.*
 62. 1939 Saran, Bopin Behari, B.L., *Advocate, High Court, Patna.*
 63. 1926 Sarkar, Ganapati, Vidyaratna, 69, *Beliaghatta Road, Calcutta.*
 64. 1915 Sarkar, Jadunath, M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.), C.I.E., 169 *Southern Avenue, P. O. Kalighat, Calcutta.*
 65. 1930 Sarkar, Dr. Subimal C., *Professor of History, Patna College, Patna.*
 66. 1936 Shah, Srinath, *Durga Kund, Benares.*
 67. 1928 Sham Bahadur, *Barrister-at-Law, Patna.*
 68. 1937 Sharma, Pandit Shyam Sundara, M.A., *Registrar, Agra University, Allahabad.*
 69. 1934 Sharma, Ram Bahadur, M.A., *Law Superintendent, Hathwa, Saran.*
 70. 1932 Sharma, Sri Ram, M.A., *D. A. V. College, Lahore.*
 71. 1923 Sastri, Dr. A. Banerji, M.B.E., M.A., D.PHIL. (OXON.) *Patna College, Patna.*
 72. 1939 Shastri, Dharmendra Brahmachari, M.A., *Patna College, Patna.*
 73. 1918 Shastri, Dr. Harichand, D.LITT., I.E.S., *Principal, Patna College, Bhagalpur.*
 74. 1920 Shastri, I. D. Daurgadatti, *Superintendent, Sanskrit Association, Patna.*
 75. Singh, Jagadis Nandan, *Proprietor, Junior Branch, Madhubani State, Madhubani, Darbhanga.*
 76. 1934 Singh, Jaikishore Narayan, *Pakri State, P. O. Bajpatti, Muzaffarpur.*
 77. 1915 Singh, Rai Brajabihari Saran, M.A., B.L., *Deputy Magistrate, Monghyr.*

78. 1916 Singh, Raja Bahadur Harihar Prasad Narayan,
Amawan, District Patna.
79. 1925 Singh, Sarangadhar, M.A., B.L., *K. V. Press, Patna.*
80. 1926 Sinha, Mahendrakishore, B.A., B.L., *Manvi, Dist.
Raichur, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
81. 1930 Sinha, Paras Nath, B.A., LL.B., *Hindustan Times,
Delhi.*
82. 1938 Sinha, Rudra Pratap, *Patna.*
83. 1915 Sinha, S., Barrister-at-Law, *Patna.*
84. 1929 Sullivan, The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. S. J., *Lord Bishop, Patna.*
85. 1940 Sohoni, S. V., I.C.S., *Sub-divisional Officer, Buxar,
Shahabad.*

T

86. 1915 Tarafdar, Rev. S. K., *Bishop, Kisb Nagar, Nadia,
Bengal.*
87. 1930 Taraporewala, Y. J., *Professor of History, Patna
College, Patna.*
88. 1933 Tirtha Swami, Vedananda, *Gurudatta Bhavan
Labore.*
89. 1916 Tripathi, Devadatta, *Kadam Kuan, Patna.*
90. 1939 Trivedi, Devasahaya, M.A., Research Scholar, c/o
Rai Brajraj Krishna, M.A., B.L., *Khaje Kalan, Patna
City.*

V

91. 1930 Varma, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P., *Patna.*
92. 1929 Vidyalkar, Jaya Chandra, *Daraganj, Allahabad.*